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The Shape of Things

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IF WE MAY JUDGE BY PREVIOUS MEETINGS, some weeks will elapse before the full results of Hitler's conversations with Mussolini are known. It seems safe to say, however, that while Mussolini outdid himself in presenting his fellow-dictator with a regal welcome, he gave him little else. The axis still stands. Mussolini and Hitler will continue to present a common front to the democracies on every issue short of war. The joint intervention in Spain will go on, and some agreement may have been reached regarding the division of the spoils. Whether Hitler actually proposed a military alliance to offset the Italian-British agreement is not clear. But if the proposal was made, Mussolini undoubtedly rejected it. The annexation of Austria has demonstrated that Hitler's ambitions in Central Europe are fundamentally irreconcilable with those of the Duce. Mussolini might not object to the German conquest of Czechoslovakia, but he certainly would not fight France to help Hitler achieve it. Germany's ambitions in Hungary are directed against Italy's present interests. Even more serious for Italy is the intimation that Hitler wants a special arrangement with regard to Trieste, Austria's normal outlet to the Mediterranean. Nor has Germany as much to offer as is usually supposed. The weaknesses exhibited by the German military machine when Austria was occupied can scarcely have escaped Mussolini's attention. About two-fifths of the German mechanized equipment is known to have broken down between the German frontier and Vienna, German airplanes developed serious faults, and the Reich's shortage of supplies would gravely hamper its military efficiency in a long-drawn-out conflict.

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POLITICALLY, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT the annexation of Austria was a costly gesture for Hitler. Rumania, which had been drawn steadily toward the axis in foreign policy, suddenly took fright and is once more considering a pact with the Soviet Union. While there is little information regarding the decisions reached at the recent Little Entente conference, the fact that it should meet at all is of considerable significance; only a few weeks ago both Yugoslavia and Rumania were thought

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to be definitely in the German camp. The conquest of Austria and subsequent Nazi threats have not shaken the Czechs. Although Prague has indicated that it is willing to make special concessions to the German minorities, it will not change the basis of its foreign policy to conform to Nazi demands. If attacked, the Czechs will in all probability resist; but as they possess a really excellent army, it may well be that they will not even be tested.

*

WITH MUSSOLINI'S FRIENDSHIP LIMITED TO restricted spheres, Hitler's chief hope for assistance in resuming his *Drang Nach Osten* is to be found in the present British government. The essence of Prime Minister Chamberlain's policy is the belief that it is possible to preserve Britain's fundamental interests in the face of aggression by bartering away the interests of others. Having staked his political future on this premise, Chamberlain dare not rest until he has completed the task which Halifax began early in the year. A deal with Britain would mean much to Hitler at this moment. It would compensate him for what influence he has lost in Central Europe; and, under present conditions, might lead to a temporary understanding with France which would permit a move against Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain's defeat in the Lichfield by-election—the third consecutive defeat suffered by the government on a straight issue of foreign policy—may introduce an element of caution into the execution of his program. But there is as yet no prospect of a national election which would allow the British people to say whether or not they wish to support the war-makers.

*

THINGS ARE LOOKING UP FOR THE NEW DEAL. Something very close to a revolt against the reactionaries in Congress is making itself felt throughout the country. And Congress, with the fall elections in the offing, is taking heed. The revolt manifested itself in the primary results in Indiana, Alabama, South Dakota, and Florida, especially in the striking victory of Claude Pepper in Florida. It showed itself in the Gallup poll on the wage-hour bill, which reported a considerable majority in favor of such legislation. It is showing itself, too, in popular resentment against the House members who voted to kill the reorganization bill. Many Congressmen are uncomfortable because of the letters they have been getting from back home, and also because many of their own letters acknowledging receipt of the now famous Gannett committee telegrams have been returned marked "No such person" or "No such address." But the real New Deal victory lies in the ease with which 218 signatures were gathered in the House to discharge the wage-hour bill from the Rules Committee. The New Deal has been abolished by the press, but the people think differently.

THE WAGE-HOUR BILL MUST BE PASSED. As we write, the prospect for passage of some sort of bill by the House before May 23 is bright. What will happen to it in the Senate is another matter, especially since the present bill provides for no differentials for the South, and the Senate is full of powerful and reactionary Southerners experienced in the technique of the filibuster. Almost as important as the wage-hour bill is the new Wagner bill requiring firms winning government contracts to comply with Labor Board rules. It seems an elementary principle of public decency that those who get the government's money should obey the government's laws. From now on the legislative process will be a race between action and adjournment. The biggest fight looms on the question of earmarking the government appropriations for the spending program. The line that the anti-Roosevelt forces will take has been laid down by Arthur Krock of the New York *Times*: tie up the expenditures and keep the New Deal from buying the election. Incidentally you tie up the spending program as well.

*

JIM FARLEY WAS THE REAL LOSER IN THE Democratic primaries. It is not generally known that there has been a growing coolness between Farley and the President. The reason is Farley's incredible belief that he should be Mr. Roosevelt's successor in 1940, and that he can be elected. The result is that Jim has been traveling about the country dedicating post offices, shaking thousands of hands, and making deals in the most approved political manner. It is reported that the reason Farley backed Dave Scholz against Claude Pepper in Florida is that Scholz promised him the Florida delegation in the Democratic convention in 1940. Farley, formerly known as a good guesser, bet on the wrong horse not only in Florida but in Illinois as well, where he backed the Kelly-Nash machine against Horner. But Farley is not alone in his ambitions. Hull, Wallace, Barkley, Jesse Jones, Byrd, Burke, Bennett Clark, Wheeler, Garner—all have been stung by the Presidential bee. Naturally these ambitions play havoc with legislative progress and administrative machinery.

*

MAYOR HAGUE GAVE US ANOTHER LESSON in fascism on the evening of May 7, when his henchmen massed some 50,000 people in Journal Square, provided them with hundreds of placards denouncing reds, kept bands moving through the crowd ready to drown out any attempt at speech-making, and dared Congressmen O'Connell and Bernard to speak of civil liberties in Jersey City. The evening wound up fittingly enough with an open anti-Semitic outburst in which several Jews were brutally beaten by a strong-arm squad in full sight of

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Hague's police. The two Congressmen were persuaded to give up their plan of invading Hague's territory by Vito Marcantonio in behalf of the International Labor Defense on the plea that their appearance might mean "bloodshed, even death"; and the Hague forces, as might have been expected, are crowing because two Congressmen were "afraid" to tackle a mob of thousands. The incident of May 7 provided fresh and terrifying proof that we have in our midst a fascist principality where freedom is reserved for hoodlums and only one man is eligible for "leader" in the formal plebiscites that take place at regular intervals. Unfortunately it also showed up the weakness of strategy in the anti-Hague forces. It would seem that anyone projecting an invasion of Jersey City at this moment would have to include violence as a possibility. To arrange such an invasion and then call it off for fear of violence was bound to produce a fiasco that Hague will make the most of. What was even worse, the decision to keep the Congressmen in New York was taken after hours of consultation in which the representatives of one anti-fascist organization, the I. L. D., kept the representative of another, the American Civil Liberties Union, from taking part while the assembled press looked on at a demonstration of anti-fascist "unity" that reminds us ominously of pre-Hitler days in Germany.

*

THE NATION HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST IN the Pulitzer award to Ray Sprigle, reporter on Paul Block's Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette,* for his series of articles concerning the one-time membership of Justice Hugo L. Black in the Ku Klux Klan. Our readers will recall that shortly after the publication of the Sprigle series we printed an article by Robert S. Allen in which he stated that the material on which the series was based had been furnished by a private investigator. As the result of the Allen article, Sprigle and Block have instituted libel suits against *The Nation.* We are, of course, defending these suits. Our general comment on the Pulitzer awards appears in another column. About Mr. Sprigle we want only to repeat that neither *The Nation* nor Mr. Allen ever questioned his ability or integrity; like any able reporter he worked with all the material at his command. At the time of the award Mr. Block characterized him as "a good soldier," while Mr. Sprigle returned the compliment by crediting his "boss" with the idea of the series. This exchange really sums up the facts. Sprigle did his job and did it well. The partisan objective which led Block to plan the articles—the principal point discussed by Allen—is not the criterion by which to judge the quality of Sprigle's work. We are surprised that the Pulitzer committee should have selected a series of this type for its prize: that it did so speaks well, at least, for the competency with which Mr. Sprigle handled his assignment.

IT HAS JUST BEEN REVEALED THAT THE organs we have been using for speaking and singing all these centuries were never meant to be used that way. The revelation was made by one Victor E. Negus, a prominent London laryngologist. We had not heard of the gentleman before—the only Negus we knew about was not named Victor—but he sounds convincing. It seems that our well-developed cheeks were designed to hold food while chewing, the larynx was a valve to protect the lungs from food and water, the epiglottis is a relic of an old olfactory mechanism, the tongue was meant for other things than talking, and the nasal cavity once had a higher function than that of acting as a voice resonator. It all comes as something of a shock, and it will never, of course, be possible to redress a million upon million years of error, spoken and sung, or right the wrong done to the innocent epiglottis, the outraged larynx, and the exploited nasal cavity. But now that we know the truth, we should lose no time in reconstructing society on a secure and natural basis of silence. There is no question that the overproduction of speech is responsible for many of the world's ills. There ought to be a world confer—pardon us. The unemployed in particular would benefit by the gradually increased use of the vocal organs for their natural function of eating. And though it is perhaps too much to expect that Dr. Negus's discovery will clear the air, it should at least strengthen the hands of those who maintain that the after-dinner speaker is an offense against nature.

Labor's Heartbreak House

THE maestro of the morning thunderers, Walter Lippmann, has demanded a change in the name of the National Labor Relations Board, on the score that it is "sailing under false colors." We suggest changing the name to Labor's Heartbreak House. For nothing could be more heartbreaking than the struggle the board has waged during the past three years on four fronts at once—the fight against employers' and press propaganda; the fight to set up functioning machinery in a relatively new field, with an eye on the Supreme Court; the effort to stay out of the crossfire between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L.; the fight for survival in the face of the campaign for changing or abolishing the Wagner Act.

Several weeks ago it looked as if the board had finally intrenched itself. Even the decisions in the Ford, Inland Steel, and Republic Steel cases had been received with resignation by industry and the press. Then a fuse set off the dynamite again—the board decided to ask the courts to vacate its orders in the three cases above.

What was behind the board's action? In all but a

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few cases under the Wagner Act a trial examiner holds hearings and issues an intermediate report with his findings. These findings may be protested by either side before they are finally passed on by the board. In a few important cases, however, the findings are transmitted directly to the board by the examiner, without an intermediate report. Thus far the board has acted with extreme care and circumspection in its procedure, so that not a single one of the thirty decisions of the Supreme Court or the Circuit Courts of Appeals has overruled the procedure of the board. It was only when the Supreme Court, in a case involving the Department of Agriculture and not the Labor Board (*Morgan* v. *United States,* or the Kansas City stockyards case), ruled that both sides must in every case have something to shoot at before a final decision, that the Labor Board decided to leave no technical loophole for Ford and Girdler to slip through and avoid the consequences of their violation of the Wagner Act.

This, of course, gave the press a field day. Chairman Madden might have called a press conference and explained the board's intention carefully and in detail. But Chairman Madden, who has always leaned backward in treating the board as a strictly judicial agency and who has a pathetic belief in the reward of virtue and the final triumph of the idea, chose not to do so. Instead he proceeded trustingly to serve notice of the board's action on the companies' attorneys. Those attorneys lacked Mr. Madden's scruples. They informed the press that the board was now welching and trying to cover up its errors. They applied for injunctions to keep the board from taking action. The Ford Company's attorneys went so far as to ask for a court order requiring the members of the board to testify under oath that they had not discussed their decision with Thomas Corcoran, Benjamin Cohen, John L. Lewis, or Homer Martin.

There is nothing new in all the shouting against the board. From the very beginning propaganda and distortion have marked the attitude of employers toward the board and the act it operates under. What is new is the line of attack initiated by Mr. Lippmann: that the board is not a real labor-relations board but merely a way of helping labor to organize; that therefore the board should be abolished as an independent agency and its functions tucked away somewhere in the Department of Justice; and that the Wagner Act should be revised or abolished.

We do not always agree with the board, but despite some differences we recognize its integrity. To say that the function of the board is to help workers to organize is wilfully false. Its function, and the function of the Wagner Act, is to set up legal machinery which will protect workers in their constitutional right to organize, and resolve the administrative and legal questions raised by the processes of setting up collective-bargaining machinery.

Government cannot, consistently with freedom, do any more than that; it cannot, consistently with social decency, afford to do any less.

Attention Roy Howard

The views of all columnists and featured writers must coincide with those of the management. We reserve the right to censor any conflicting opinion.

IF newspaper publishers were compelled to obey an intellectual pure-food-and-drug law, this label would be engraved on the masthead of the New York *World-Telegram.* Within the last few weeks the management of that journal has deleted sections of columns which clashed with its editorial policy, dropped columns altogether, and in general introduced a reign of censorship and repression. These incidents merit national attention because the *World-Telegram* is an intellectual leader and the most important link in the Scripps-Howard chain. They merit Roy Howard's personal attention because they represent startling violations of accepted newspaper precedent. We do not know whether Merlin H. Aylesworth, the new publisher, Lee Wood, the executive editor, or Mr. Howard himself is responsible for the situation that has developed. But we assume that Mr. Howard at least knows the facts and will answer a few leading questions:

1. When Hugh S. Johnson wrote a tribute to John L. Lewis's patriotism, why was his column dropped from the *World-Telegram?*

2. When Westbrook Pegler expressed sympathy for the Spanish Loyalists, why was his column similarly omitted?

3. When Heywood Broun appealed for "penny postcards" to Congress in support of Roosevelt's recovery program, why did the sentences containing that appeal vanish from his column after the first edition?

4. When Raymond Clapper berated President Roosevelt's critics during the reorganization fight, why was his column cut so that it appeared as a hostile portrait of the President?

5. Then, when Mr. Clapper later denounced the fake tumult over reorganization, why was his column not printed?

6. When Dorothy Dunbar Bromley recently appealed for transfer of naval funds to housing projects, why was her column absent from the *World-Telegram?*

7. Why did a Wortman cartoon—depicting one unemployed man telling another: "After all, there's no use denying jobs are scarce; even a good scab can't find work now"—disappear after the first edition?

8. While the New York *Post* was running articles ex-

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posing the corruption of the Hague regime in Jersey City, why did the *World-Telegram* run a series which was predominantly sympathetic to Mayor Hague?

9. Why was Rollin Kirby forced to draw a hostile cartoon about Borough President Isaacs, for which he later apologized in a letter to his friends?

Mr. Howard has joined his brother publishers of the conservative wing in denouncing many an alleged threat to freedom of speech emanating from Washington bureaus and committee rooms and the White House itself. How can he reconcile with this professed solicitude for an untrammeled press the recent activities of his chief executives on the *World-Telegram?*

The Pulitzer Pattern

THE Pulitzer prizes this year follow their almost standardized pattern so faithfully that the pattern itself becomes more interesting than the separate awards. Though the advice of outsiders in various fields is invoked, the final recommendations are made by the Advisory Board of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia, which includes two Pulitzers, Kent Cooper, Nicholas Murray Butler, Frank Kent of the Baltimore *Sun,* Julian La Rose Harris of the Chattanooga *Times,* William Allen White, and, piquantly enough, Robert Lincoln O'Brien, chairman of the United States Tariff Commission. These are solid, established citizens of the American commonwealth, and it is quite natural that they should keep a middle course down the stream of American scholarship, belles-lettres, and journalism with a slight list toward the right.

The fiction awards have usually been at variance with the judgment of the more "literary" of literary critics (*cf.* "Gone with the Wind" last year). This year's novel award will arouse less "highbrow" criticism than usual not because "The Late George Apley" is first-rate literature (though it is a very deft piece of writing) but because 1937 was singularly poor in American fiction. The poetry award suggests that in this field the committee is likely to take the advice of persons more expert than themselves, and more interested in poetry. And in "Our Town" the committee happened to have an excellent example of the kind of play it would be most inclined to select.

The American Civil War and the Reconstruction period are at present enjoying a revival at the hands of the historians, and it is appropriate that the Pulitzer award in history should have gone to a volume dealing with that period. It was inevitable that it would go to a traditional interpretation such as that of Paul H. Buck in "The Road to Reunion" although the Marxian approach to the period has by now become well established and is being increasingly used among younger scholars. The awards in the field of biography, to Odell Shepard and Marquis James, were excellent.

The journalistic awards are more interesting than usual because the outstanding ones are related to the issues which have agitated public opinion in the past two years. Arthur Krock is certainly one of our most competent and influential journalists. He is also one of our most conservative. The Des Moines *Register,* for the conduct of whose editorial page W. W. Waymack drew a prize, is a typical voice of the conservative Middle West. Raymond Sprigle won a prize for his series of articles "exposing" Justice Black, who was a key figure on the left in the great Supreme Court fight. It is interesting to note that both Mr. Krock and Mr. Sprigle gave credit where credit was due. Mr. Krock said that but for his connection with the New York *Times* he would have been unable to get the exclusive interview with President Roosevelt which won him the prize. Mr. Sprigle was frank to say that although he wrote the series on Black "it was the boss [Paul Block] who got the idea first."

No wonder the working press as represented by the Newspaper Guild is preparing to make its own awards.

Carl von Ossietzky

"CARL VON OSSIETZKY Dies in a Berlin Hospital. Nobel Peace Winner of 1935 Was Imprisoned by the Nazis as 'Enemy of State.' " So ran the headlines on May 5. They should have read: Carl von Ossietzky murdered by slow torture lasting more than five years; his teeth knocked out with a Hitler pistol; his liver smashed by a Hitler boot; his lungs destroyed by tuberculosis that he was not allowed to have cured.

In 1931, during Brüning's chancellorship, Ossietzky was accused of high treason for printing an article in his famous weekly, *Die Weltbühne,* on the military budget by which the reactionaries of all shades were indirectly subsidized. The trial was a miscarriage of justice. But the great critic of the Weimar Republic and prophet of its downfall had to be silenced. When the state attorney, the same "democrat" who later accused Dimitrov of burning the Reichstag, began his final speech, a Reichswehr music corps passed and a martial rhythm swept into the hypocritical atmosphere of the supreme court. The attorney paused. The defendant Ossietzky rose and addressed him: "Mr. Attorney, you hear your master's voice. Proceed." He was sent to prison and left it again for only four short weeks. On the night of the Reichstag fire, storm troopers dragged him back once more behind the bars. He had not listened to his friends who urged him to go abroad. He wanted to tell the truth to his readers as long as he could. His whole career was one

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gigantic effort to make the German people recognize the prompter's voice behind the pseudo-democratic stage.

A very modest man, aware of men's weaknesses, Ossietzky would have been the first to protest against the label "hero." A deep human understanding of even his vilest enemies widened his criticism. His weekly articles, awaited and feared, showed a universal mind. Whether he wrote about finance, the decline of German literature, the Black Reichswehr, the fraud of a "left" theater for rich patrons, the mistakes of the Third International, he fought for a progressive Germany. He saw that the Junkers, the Nazis, the English and French ruling classes, were working together even fifteen years ago. To read his articles today is to read great prophecy. He tried to make the Communists see that their policy and tactics were wrong, and was called a social fascist. He slashed the spineless bureaucracy of the Social Democrats, and was called a bourgeois idealist. In truth he was the greatest independent publicist that post-war Germany has produced.

"A man speaks with a hollow voice across the border," Ossietzky remarked on his deathbed, by way of explaining his silence. Now they have silenced him forever. The murderers of Ossietzky and of Matteotti have been embracing each other under the smiling sun of Capri. But the weather will change.

A Cable from Geneva

BY ROBERT DELL

Geneva, May 9

THE session of the League Council which begins today is an exceptionally important one. Spain and Ethiopia are on its agenda and the British and French governments have planned yet another capitulation to fascism which will even further diminish what little reputation and authority the League still has left. All eyes here are fixed on America. The news that the American embargo on arms to Spain may be lifted is the one ray of light piercing the darkness in which Europe is enveloped. By that step America would take the lead in the struggle against the fascist menace. The lifting of the embargo would be a belated act of justice to the Spanish government, which for nearly two years has been deprived of its rights under international law; but it would be much more than that. It would have a decisive effect on British and French policy in particular. It would help to liberate France from the yoke of the British pro-fascist government which is exploiting it in the interest of British reaction.

The incident that has just occurred shows the extent to which French subjection to British domination goes. The British government has been pressing the French government to restore the international control on the French-Spanish frontier when the commission to report on the question of withdrawing non-Spanish combatants goes to Spain. By this measure the Chamberlain regime hopes to intensify the strangulation of the Spanish government and to increase Franco's chances of victory. The French government has unwillingly agreed to take this step even though it is incompatible with the undertakings by which Daladier obtained the support of the French left parties when he took office. At the same time the French government has privately advised the Spanish government to refuse to allow the commission to visit the territory under Loyalist control and so to put an end to the whole undertaking. In this way the French would be enabled to pass the buck. The Spanish government would nevertheless be right to take the course suggested. As the diplomatic correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* said on March 16: "The question of the so-called volunteers has now become meaningless, for Italian and German intervention is now more formidable than it has been at any time and would remain almost unaffected by the withdrawal of non-Spanish combatants." This is more true now than it was on March 16.

By the Anglo-Italian agreement Neville Chamberlain has in effect authorized Mussolini to continue his intervention in Spain until the civil war has ended. There is nothing in the agreement to prevent him from continuing and increasing the supply of war material and other aid to Franco. Germany has not even been asked by the British government to stop or to reduce its intervention, although German intervention in Spain is really more serious than Italian. The British proposal about withdrawal of the so-called volunteers is a piece of unmitigated humbug. Hitler's and Mussolini's speeches in Rome on Saturday show that the Anglo-Italian agreement has played into the hands of the fascist dictators and that there is no hope of detaching Mussolini from Hitler. That was not Chamberlain's aim in making the agreement, which he intends as a prelude to an Anglo-German agreement. The British government has joined the fascist bloc.

The United States government would render a great service to the cause of peace and international order by a definite refusal to recognize Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. The recognition now proposed by the British and French governments is not a recognition of fact but a refusal to recognize facts. Italy has not yet conquered Ethiopia. The whole country is in revolt except in the immediate neighborhood of the Italian garrisons. Chamberlain's policy is to give Mussolini financial and other help to complete his conquest. Recognition of Italian sovereignty would mean that the Abyssinians still struggling against foreign oppression would become technically rebels and would be treated as such by England and France. America will surely never countenance such infamy.

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Roosevelt's New Bandwagon

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, May 9

CLAUDE PEPPER of Florida is a better-than-average Southern Senator; beside Byrd and Bailey he literally towers. However, that is not what makes his sweeping victory in last week's primary the most significant event in national politics since Roosevelt was defeated on the court plan. Its significance lies in the fact that it was a chemically perfect test of New Deal strength. Pepper had supported the President on every controversial measure, including the court plan, the reorganization bill, and the wage-hour bill. His chief opponent, Representative Mark Wilcox, one of those sneery, superior Old Guard Democrats of the Byrd-Bailey stripe, not only opposed all three, but made a campaign stunt out of speeding back to Washington to help kill the reorganization bill. When Jimmy Roosevelt voiced the family hope that Pepper would win, Wilcox was quick to retort: "The state of Florida is waiting with bated breath to see what stand Sistie and Buzzie will take." To the winter millionaires of Palm Beach and Miami, Wilcox was the hero who was to head the stampede back to normalcy.

Now they have their answer, and the answer is that Roosevelt has lost his popularity with everybody except the voters. Few political adults were surprised, and only the wishful thinkers were shocked. Members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association may learn in time not to believe everything they read on their own editorial pages, or even in their news columns, although experience has demonstrated that they learn slowly and forget with ease.

Congressmen are not so dull, and one of the first results of the Florida demonstration was the spectacular rush of House Democrats to sign the petition bringing the wage-hour bill to the floor. It was an edifying spectacle. Statesmen who had vowed to high heaven and the textile industry to shed their last remnant of honor in defense of the sweatshop emulated Bronko Nagurski in getting to the desk where the petition reposed. If they had a scruple about thus betraying their patrons in the public interest, it was engulfed by the sudden impulse of self-preservation. Men like Cox of Georgia, whose loftiest aim is to maintain the South as a sanctuary for the exploiters of child labor, are now resigned to the passage of a labor-standards bill by the House, and rest their hopes on a Senate filibuster. The issue should be welcomed in both houses. As I said in this place recently, it provides an ideal test for separating the fit and the unfit. Florida has shown that the voters may be trusted to do the rest.

The turn of events should bring the President back to Washington full of fight. He has sometimes shown a lamentable tendency to mellow in the face of success; his eagerness to welcome lost sheep to the fold results too often in admitting the wolf. This, I believe, is less likely to happen now than at any time since he became President. The forces which are bent on wrecking everything he has accomplished have identified themselves rather thoroughly—and they are the forces which dominate industry and finance in this country. Such well-meaning optimists as Averill Harriman and Commissioner John W. Hanes of the SEC really are mavericks, and their efforts to promote "understanding" between business and the Administration will result only in heightening their own sense of loneliness. The only "accord" possible would be one in which Roosevelt agreed to abandon his policies on labor and the utilities.

That was plain, and the proceedings of the United States Chamber of Commerce, meeting here last week, could hardly make it plainer. The same "poverty of ideas" which impressed Senator Murray when he listened to the testimony of "many distinguished leaders of business, finance, and industry" during the recent Senate hearings on unemployment was on display in all its vast and illimitable barrenness. After months of intense cerebration of the kind in which great bankers indulge, Winthrop W. Aldrich came up with the suggestion that what business needs is "a breathing spell." Apparently it had never once occurred to him that what it needs most is a thinking spell. Poor old Bill Green, palpitating on the outskirts of the gathering, finally got up courage to venture that an understanding between capital and labor might help things. For all his deferential, hat-in-hand approach, he was roundly snubbed. President Davis of the chamber bluntly told him that business wants the immediate repeal or drastic modification of the Wagner Act, and no mealy-mouthed nonsense about it.

If the Congressional rush to the Roosevelt bandwagon continues, it is not impossible that the government-reorganization bill may be revived. It would be a salutary move. As often pointed out here, the measure is not of transcendent importance in its own right; it attained political importance through the incredibly dishonest and mendacious character of the attack upon it. This attack

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is now recoiling in ways that are both gratifying and amusing. When Congressmen who voted against the bill finally got around to answering some of the thousands of letters and telegrams they had received, they discovered to their chagrin that the senders were "unknown at this address." Others have been hearing from constituents who explain that "the reason I didn't write or wire you in favor of the bill was that I took it for granted you would support the President." It would be interesting to have the Gannett-Coughlin telegram lobby put to the test again on the same bill.

In case the bill is revived I make one suggestion to the opposition: the ghost who writes speeches for Senators Byrd and Burke should be warned not to make carbon copies of his masterpieces. Such a precaution might prevent a repetition of the unfortunate incident which took place on the Senate floor on March 23, when Burke rose and delivered a long oration against the bill which was identical, in paragraph after paragraph, with the one Senator Byrd had uttered more than an hour earlier. That is the sort of thing which shakes our faith in public men.

Phil La Follette—an Interview

BY MAX LERNER

Madison, Wisconsin, May 5

I CAME out to Madison to talk with Governor La Follette because overnight he had vaulted into the national picture as a potential progressive leader, yet no one was clear where he was going or how he proposed to get there. And of the two La Follettes, it is Phil rather than Bob who is the prime mover in the new National Progressives of America. Phil received me cordially. We had a two-hour talk in the morning at the State House and another two-hour talk in the afternoon at the Executive Mansion. I came primed with many questions. I cannot quote the answers, but I have his permission to set down my interpretation of the gist of our discussion and my deductions about his thinking. If some of these deductions are not sympathetic, it is because they have been filtered through my own hopes and fears about the future of our country.

No one in Wisconsin thinks of calling the Governor anything except Phil. His people either love him or hate him, quarrel and make up with him as they might do with members of their family. And Phil cultivates that feeling. He received me at his home in shirt-sleeves, as if I were a neighbor who had dropped in for a friendly call. Madison, far away from the fierce antagonism of the urban centers like New York or Chicago, is folksy and middle-class in tone.

But Phil is not just small-town stuff. At forty-one he is already the stuff that legends are made of, and I heard many of them. He is a man of enormous ambition and personal mastery, grooming himself for a great destiny and believing utterly in that destiny. There are some who think that the new party grows out of the local Wisconsin situation, that Phil faces a fight for his fourth term as governor, and that he knows he can't be governor unless he finds a place in the national political sun. I doubt that. Phil's prestige in Wisconsin has never stood so high as today, and it has grown especially with the more liberal business men. Besides, he does not talk like a man who wants only to be governor. He is playing for high stakes.

The first impression one gets of him is of a frank, warm, alert, but unassuming person. Despite his gray hair, he looks at times and from a certain angle, infinitely young, like an eager schoolboy—small, lithe, round-faced. Watch him further and he is the administrator galvanized into action, with an air of curt and sharp command. There is economy in every gesture—the economy of a big executive or of a general in the midst of a campaign. Leadership is very much on his mind. I have been told that while he was at college his room was hung with pictures of great historical figures, including Napoleon. Today his sitting-room is cluttered with photographs of the great ones of the earth. There is one of Justice Brandeis and one of Mussolini. That *in parvo* is Phil.

He stands with one foot in the old La Follette tradition and the other in a strange world just coming into being. He is proud of what his father and mother did in public life, proud of his pioneer stock, steeped in the tradition of the frontier, deeply influenced by F. J. Turner's frontier theory. He would like to project the Wisconsin achievement on to a national plane.

Phil's strategy today has two premises. One is that Roosevelt's political prestige is bankrupt; the other is that the New Deal is, from an economic standpoint, basically wrong. There is no doubt that he has broken both with the President and his program. He has never been more than a fellow-traveler of the New Deal, critical of its policy ever since his speech in 1933 attacking the AAA program. He has consistently refused offers of administrative posts in Washington. Latterly the distance has widened, as he has become convinced that the

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President is succumbing to the Democratic Old Guard and not making a state-by-state fight against the party machine. There are those in Washington who believe that Phil was not averse to seeing the process of the President's defeat hastened, and that the five Wisconsin members of the House, whose votes against the reorganization bill proved the decisive factor, would not have done so without at least Phil's tacit consent. Phil knows that the common people of the country still have a loyalty to the President; that when Bill Evjue, editor of the Madison *Capitol-Times* wrote an editorial on the day of Phil's big Madison speech, saying that whatever happens the new party must not be anti-Roosevelt, his phone rang all day with congratulations; and that when Phil mentioned the President that night and again at Cedar Rapids, there were great bursts of applause. Yet he also feels that the common people are bewildered and have lost their sense of direction; and that, when their personal warmth about Roosevelt has worn off, nothing but disenchantment will remain. He wants to prepare for that time.

About the danger of dividing the progressive forces through his new party, he is skeptical. If the New Deal shows increased strength in the 1938 elections, I am convinced that the new party will be used mainly to put heat on the tories and insure the nomination in 1940 of a fairly liberal candidate. If the New Deal's prestige continues to fall, the party will strike out for itself. This does not mean nominating a candidate for the Presidency. Phil knows that a party is not created by fiat or by a single speech, no matter how histrionic, but that it has to be built from the ground up. He plans to work assiduously in every state and every county. If he has any guess about 1940 it is that the Democrats will win, but only by nominating a more conservative candidate than Roosevelt. He has no illusions, as LaGuardia seems still to have, about the Republicans nominating a liberal. But whoever is elected, he is convinced that the program after 1940 will be pretty much the same as the program today—one of borrowing and spending. And being thus convinced, he has no worries about his timing. If the progressives are temporarily split, that is a risk that has to be taken whenever a new party is started. Meanwhile my guess is that Phil feels he can wait until 1944 when he will be only forty-seven and still in the prime of life.

What sort of economic program has he? Phil is thus far much clearer in his criticisms of the New Deal than in substitutes for it. He argues that we shall get nowhere by the restrictionism of the farm program, that borrowing and spending do not solve a depression, and that expenditures for relief do not constitute a way of ordering the economic system. He believes that the Administration has erred in doing both too little and too much: too little in that, if it had to spend, it did not spend soon enough or heavily enough; too much in that it set itself the enormous and impossible task of regulating the entire economy instead of concentrating on the crucial phase of it.

What is that crucial phase? The mechanism of investment and credit. After the 1936 elections the President might have concentrated on getting the bugs out of our machinery. He did not, and now there is idle capital lying about. How put it to work? Phil's analysis up to this point would grace the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. But his remedy, as far as I can make it out, is a cross between socialism, technocracy, and what used to be called in the 1920's "the new capitalism."

I mention socialism despite the fact that Phil has almost no socialist consciousness in him, and mentions the word only to deride it. Yet his general outlook is away from laissez faire and toward increased governmental power. His is the socialism involved in any project for a huge and collective national effort to master the economic problem. But it is not socialism in the sense of envisaging any broad program of socialization. At least for the present, Phil has in mind less heroic remedies. And among them his attitude toward credit and his attitude toward the price structure loom most important.

I could not help being struck, as he talked, by the degree of similarity between his emphasis on nationalized credit and Dr. Schacht's method of rationalizing the German economy by leaving private ownership and profit undisturbed but using publicly controlled credit as the principal means of leverage. And since Phil has autarchic ideas as well, I assume this control would be extended to foreign exchange. The savings banks would continue their deposit functions; but investment banking, which has already become practically inactive, would be turned over formally to the government. Private enterprise would move from a credit to a cash basis. That is to say, all credit would be governmental. Mortgages and bonds, instead of being fixed claims upon income, would be transformed into participating interests in the fortunes of an enterprise. Thus the credit system, which Walter Stewart has defined as "suspicion asleep," would be socialized, along with the monetary system. And with it one of the most rigid elements of our economic system would be removed.

Another element that would have to be made amenable to control is that of cost and thus of price. Phil's approach to the railroad problem is well known; it involves a moratorium on the present bond structure and the calling in of new investment. His approach to agricultural and labor prices is similar. He believes not in sharing more equitably what wealth we have, but in producing more wealth for everyone to be satisfied with. The farmer today, he argues, is geared to selling a decreasing number of units—whether of milk or hogs or cotton—for the highest possible unit price. Actually the

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farmer would be better off if he sold more units, even though he got less for each. Labor is in the same situation. There are times when wages should go up, but times also when wage rigidity is catastrophic to the whole economic structure and wages should go down. If labor were interested, he argues, not in price per unit of work but in its share of a larger number of units, costs could be reduced and volume increased.

This is not a program but a philosophy. With Phil it is a basic philosophy and furnishes the clue to his program—increased national production, using nationalized credit, monetary control, and a guaranteed annual wage or farm income to effect it. It is, in a way, the core of the National Expansion bill, originally drawn with the help of Mordecai Ezekiel, introduced into the House by Amlie, Voorhees, and other progressives, and now languishing there. But Phil would not go as far as that bill in his program of regulation of industry. The power of the state, he feels, must be used not to administer the business units but to give direction to them. Once that direction is achieved business can be left to its own devices and its own pioneering inventiveness. This does not mean, despite the applause from Walter Lippmann and Dorothy Thompson, a return to the ancient simplicities of laissez faire. Actually, in what Phil has said thus far, there are holes broad enough to drive through an entire program of government control. But I am convinced that he would resort to that only if his socialized-credit and price-control methods were to fail.

For the present, he is beautifully vague and evasive about ways and means. Why should he not be? He knows that third parties have in the past foundered on the rocks of over-concreteness at the start. Moreover, he does not want Mr. Roosevelt to steal his thunder, as he has done with others. Finally he is convinced that the only people who want blueprints are the intellectuals, with whom it is an occupational disease, and his enemies, who want them to distort them.

He has a contempt for the intellectual, especially the radical intellectual, with his *isms* and his dogmas. He believes in action. Act first, show that something can be done, and people will follow you. To get such action, democratic government must be mobile and efficient. Hence Phil's reorganization of Wisconsin's executive departments, which he carried through with far more astuteness than the President showed in his own plan. He gave either House of the state legislature the power, by a simple majority, to undo any reorganizing act of his after it was done. Phil knows the value of the *fait accompli*. "Give me power," he says in effect, "then you may hedge that power about with checks and balances."

Despite his roots in the La Follette tradition, Phil is a new plant, growing in a changed soil of economic circumstance and a new climate of opinion. He still points with pride to the Wisconsin social legislation; relief, despite his rash remark about "spoon-feeding and coddling the American people," is still a problem to him, but it is subordinate to the larger problem of mastering the economic drift, And on that, some of his perspectives come from present-day Germany. He went to Germany in 1933. On his return he wrote a series of articles which he sold to the Hearst press—he is now a bit apologetic about that. He brought back from Germany a deep sense of the economic roots of fascism in the degraded living conditions of the people. Yet he thinks that it is easy to underestimate Hitler's positive achievement, and admires the energy he has shown in reorganizing an anarchic economy. Even more is he impressed by what Mustapha Kemal has done in Turkey in evoking a new economic energy and a new nationalism.

Phil's own nationalism goes deep, and it is no accident that he calls his party the National Progressives of America. To do a creative job, people must have belief in themselves. In America that belief has been corroded, since the turn of the century, by economic collapse. His paean about the sanctity of the North American continent is not a literary figure of speech but a mystical conviction. And that conviction is fed by his isolationism in foreign policy. He made a public statement in 1933 against the Jewish boycott of German goods. The Jews, he feels, have—because of their economic success in a declining capitalism—become easy marks for vindictiveness. They must not dissipate their energies in foreign boycotts, but concentrate them on the opportunity for reform within their own country. They must be Americans first and Jews afterward. Phil insists that the nationalist pattern is a deep and slumbering force in American life, with enormous power for evoking middle-class and mass support. He sees what the Marxian parties have hitherto overlooked, that the middle-class mentality and nationalist feeling are still our ruling divinities.

Phil's eyes glow when he talks of mass movements. Intellectuals may fear to contemplate the mass unleashed, but he has no such fears. We must reach the masses if we are to survive as a nation. They want to know where we are going and why, but they do not want to be burdened with blueprints. Men think in terms of symbols. Hence the adoption of the new symbol of the cross by the new party. "Why fear it?" asks Phil. Communism has its symbol in the hammer and sickle, Nazism has a symbol in the swastika; democracy alone lacks a symbol. Phil proposes to equip democracy with a symbol through which the common man—since he cannot write laws or articles or make speeches—will get a sense of participation, the mystical sense of unity. All this may sound dangerous to many. It sounds very dangerous to me. And Phil knows that he will be called a fascist. But he is willing to venture it.

Phil insists that this is no "third party" he is forming:

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it is *the* party (does he mean *the* progressive party or the only party of the future?). He also insists that it is no popular-front party and no labor party in its usual sense. He wants no more to be tied to trade unionism, as the British progressives are, than he wants to be tied to popular frontism, as the French progressives are. What remains for him is to build on a middle-class base, counting on the probability that the trade unions will soon attach themselves to it.

Yet it is strange that Phil should have held himself so completely aloof from labor. I have it on good authority that none of the top leaders of the C. I. O. were brought directly into the picture. It is a sensational fact that a few days before the new party was formed Phil had a long talk with John L. Lewis on another matter during which he never so much as mentioned his coming political venture. Labor, he feels, should know the La Follettes' labor record in the Senate and in Wisconsin, and should count them among its friends. I have done some investigating of the Wisconsin Labor Act. It is a good one, except for the fact that Joseph Padway, the A. F. of L. lawyer, wrote into it a provision whereby an employer may sign a closed-shop agreement with a union even though it may not have a majority of the workers. This is practically a set-up for the A. F. of L. in staving off C. I. O. advance. In the national picture this could scarcely be construed as unqualified friendship for labor as a whole. Labor will remember the La Follettes' record, but it will also remember that a party that starts out to keep clear of the labor stigma may end by fighting labor.

Pennsylvania's Scrambled Politics

BY GUY V. MILLER

Pittsburgh, May 2

A BITTER primary campaign marked by sensational charges of graft, corruption, and coercion is drawing to a close in Pennsylvania. Starting out originally as a battle between John L. Lewis's C. I. O. and the state organization for the right to name the party's gubernatorial nominee, the Democratic primary has developed into the greatest cat-and-dog fight voters in this state have seen in many a year. The highest Democratic office-holders and party leaders have been accused of offering and accepting bribes, of buying legislation, of "macing" pay-rollers for political contributions—of about every known sin on the political calendar. And the accusations have come not from Republicans but from fellow-Democrats.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Democratic Party in this primary has sowed the seeds of its own destruction in November. Everything now depends on how carefully these seeds are nurtured by the Republicans. Not since 1930 have the latter entered a campaign with so many advantages. In addition to the split in the hitherto unbeaten Democratic state organization, they are favored by the opposition among little business men and white-collar workers to the New Deal's taxation and labor measures, the dissatisfaction of the left-wingers with the Roosevelt policies, and, last but not least, a new depression.

Under any circumstances a bitter political battle was to be expected this fall in Pennsylvania. The stakes are control of the state government with its vast patronage (the commonwealth has nearly 30,000 employees, few of whom are under civil-service protection), the state's thirty-four seats in Congress, a senatorship, seventy-two votes in the 1940 national convention, and thirty-six electoral votes. Victory in 1938, of course, does not necessarily guarantee the last two, but it will give the winner a tremendous edge.

Two competing Democratic tickets are in the field, each backed by powerful groups. In addition, a number of independent Democratic candidates are contending for the major offices, and at least one of these cannot be discounted or ignored. The Democratic organization ticket has Charles Alvin Jones, a comparatively unknown Pittsburgh attorney, as its candidate for governor, and Governor George H. Earle as its choice for United States senator. Behind this ticket is the powerful State Democratic Committee, headed by an astute politician, State Chairman David L. Lawrence. Behind the committee stand most of the Democratic pay-rollers, county and municipal as well as state. Also backing the Jones-Earle ticket are the A. F. of L. unions, which have formed a Non-Partisan League of their own—the old league is in C. I. O. hands.

Opposing the Jones-Earle ticket in the primary on May 17 is what Pennsylvanians call the Guffey-C. I. O. slate, a combination of the forces headed by Senator Joseph F. Guffey, formerly coleader with Lawrence of the organization, and Lewis and his C. I. O. unions. The Guffey-C. I. O. candidate for governor is Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy, who also is secretary-treasurer of the powerful United Mine Workers. For senator the candidate is Mayor S. Davis Wilson of Philadelphia, who has a strong political machine of his own in that city.

The strength of the Guffey-C. I. O. slate lies chiefly in the C. I. O. unions, with an estimated membership of better than 600,000 in Pennsylvania, and the WPA. Although Senator Guffey denies it, and WPA Administra-

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tor Harry Hopkins has sent out letters to all WPA workers telling them to vote for whom they please, most political observers are convinced that the WPA is being forced into line behind the Kennedy-Wilson combination. This ticket will certainly get additional help from Wilson's City Hall organization in Philadelphia, which is said to be good for 50,000 votes, and from smaller groups throughout the state. Most of the federal employees in Pennsylvania, who owe their jobs to Senator Guffey, are also lined up with him in this fight.

In addition to these complete slates, Charles J. Margiotti, until recently attorney general in the Earle administration, is in the field seeking the Democratic nomination for governor, ex-Mayor Eddie McCloskey of Johnstown is a senatorial candidate in the Democratic primary, and several others are out for office.

CHARGE AND COUNTER-CHARGE

Margiotti, the stormy petrel of the campaign, has made most of the sensational charges of graft and corruption against the Earle administration, charges which next week will be investigated by the Dauphin County grand jury at Harrisburg. Four years ago he polled 200,000 votes as an independent Republican candidate for governor and cannot be entirely discounted. He will not win, of course, but his charges may conceivably cost the Democratic organization the nominations. Margiotti has declared, among other things, that the pay roll is being "maced" for political contributions, that Lawrence and Ralph M. Bashore, Secretary of Labor and Industry, "sold" protective legislation to the brewery interests for $20,000, and that Earle offered to "bribe" Senator Davis to quit his post and to appoint Margiotti as his successor if the latter would withdraw from the race for the governorship. All these accusations have been answered by blanket denials, and after an angry interview with Margiotti over the "sale of legislation" charge, in which he demanded that his rival produce his evidence, the Governor fired him. Margiotti insisted upon presenting it only to a grand jury, and since his dismissal he has been successful in getting a grand jury summoned.

The Guffey-C. I. O. leaders are elated over the Margiotti charges, which they believe have turned many Democratic voters against the organization. They now profess to be confident that Kennedy will pull through, although they are not so sure about Wilson. The latter is not over-popular with some C. I. O. elements, and probably not too many tears will be shed if Earle gets the senatorial nomination. He has been strongly pro-labor, whereas Wilson has not been, though Wilson's record does not show any outright acts of hostility to labor.

Startling charges against the Democratic organization and its leaders have also been made by the Guffey-C. I. O. group. Wilson in a speech charged that Governor Earle had borrowed $30,000 from Matthew H. McCloskey, Jr., a contractor and one of the Democratic leaders of Philadelphia. Since then, Wilson charged, McCloskey has obtained nearly $10,000,000 in contracts from the General State Authority, an agency created to handle a large-scale building program for the commonwealth. Wilson's inference was plain, and it did not help Earle any when he admitted the loan. He explained that it was an "ordinary business transaction," that he was gradually repaying it, and that the loan was made long before the General State Authority started to function. As for McCloskey getting the authority's contracts, Earle said, that was only because he was the low bidder.

To counteract Wilson's charges, the Democratic organization launched its accusations of WPA coercion and began clamoring for a federal investigation. But the McCloskey-Earle transaction has left a bad taste in many Democratic voters' mouths, and the Margiotti charges have undoubtedly hurt the Governor and the organization still further.

THE DOUBTFUL LABOR VOTE

From this it looks as if the Jones-Earle ticket were on the defensive and losing ground. But all is not serene in the Guffey-C. I. O. camp either. First of all, they are combating a powerful, intrenched organization with plenty of patronage behind it. Second, they are handicapped by lack of organization and experienced subordinate leaders—county chairmen, ward chairmen, and the like. Third, while Guffey and Wilson have their followers, they also have enemies who are lining up now behind the Democratic organization, although some were previously cool to it. Finally, the American Federation of Labor, which claims 400,000 members in Pennsylvania, is bitterly hostile. The A. F. of L., however, will probably not be able to deliver a solid vote against the Guffey-C. I. O. slate: some of the rank and file may secretly support Kennedy on the ground that he is, after all, a labor man, and the many registered Republicans in the federation will of course have no vote in the Democratic primary.

But can the C. I. O. itself present a solid front in the primary? John L. Lewis seemingly is confident that it can, but most politicians are not so sure. Politically, the C. I. O. has never been tested in Pennsylvania except in a few municipal elections in which it joined with the Democratic organization and supported the latter's candidates. The United Mine Workers, it is true, did an effective job for Roosevelt in 1936, but there again they worked in conjunction with experienced Democratic leaders. Furthermore, the miners had the magic name of Roosevelt to sell. Now they must sell Kennedy and Wilson to the Democratic voters, and each has his defects.

Kennedy is popular among the United Mine Workers but not among all the C. I. O. unions. Particularly in the lodges of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee

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there seems to be some resentment of U. M. W. A. domination of the C. I. O. Moreover, Kennedy, reserved and soft-spoken, is not a good campaigner. On the platform he looks and acts more like a small-town business man than a union leader. In his own town of Hazelton and in the hard-coal fields Kennedy seems to be well-liked, but that does not mean he is a vote-getter. In 1934, as candidate for lieutenant governor, he lost both Hazelton and Luzerne County, and to a reactionary Republican. Finally, Kennedy is a Catholic, and Pennsylvania, once a Ku Klux Klan hotbed, has a strong tradition against a Catholic governor.

Mayor Wilson is a political enigma who can hardly be classified as either liberal or conservative. In Philadelphia his is pretty much a one-man party. Until this campaign he kept aloof from both major parties. In the 1936 Presidential election, for example, he registered as a non-partisan and refused to say how he intended to vote. To sell such a man to those Democratic voters who like to choose their candidates on the basis of whether they are for or against Roosevelt will not be easy. Guffey and Lewis probably realized this but decided that Wilson's machine in Philadelphia would net them more votes than he would lose them personally.

Guffey and Lewis, while not candidates themselves, are also major factors in the campaign. The A. F. of L. leaders are centering their fire on Lewis, charging that if Kennedy is elected, Lewis will be the real governor. They also are hammering home the fact that Lewis is not a Pennsylvanian and are appealing to local pride to keep him "from getting his hands on this state." It is probably to combat this that the C. I. O. chieftain has remained out of Pennsylvania in recent weeks. Guffey is a target for all the Democratic organization leaders, and they are shooting at him constantly. Publicly they accuse him of trying to set himself up as a political czar; privately they are spreading all sorts of stories about the Senator's *sub rosa* activities in Washington. The organization leaders ridicule Guffey's assertion that he is a true New Dealer, asserting that he is loyal to the White House only for the sake of the favors he gets in return.

It is difficult to gauge the full effect of these attacks on Guffey and Lewis, but they unquestionably have done some damage. Many labor men view Guffey with distrust because he was formerly a utility executive and until 1932 played ball with the anti-labor Republican machine then in power. Lawrence, incidentally, must plead guilty to the same charge. The Democratic organization leaders assert that they have found a great deal of hostility to Lewis's political activities among rank-and-file unionists in his group, but there is little evidence to confirm this. Probably the assertion is based on the grumbling among U. M. W. A. members over a two-dollar assessment recently imposed upon them, presumably for political purposes. It is unlikely that this grumbling will be carried to the point of open opposition to the Lewis slate.

Until the sensational charges against the administration, most of the organization leaders appeared to be confident of victory. Even Guffey's bolt to the C. I. O. didn't jar their complacency, although a few showed signs of nervousness, knowing that Guffey, as a practical politician, probably wouldn't have bolted unless he thought the C. I. O. would win. The majority simply put his desertion down as sour grapes because the organization had refused to slate him for the governorship. Publicly the subordinate leaders still profess to be confident of the final outcome, but privately some of them are getting jittery. Margiotti's and Wilson's accusations, they realize, aren't doing the organization any good among the voters. Even though most of the charges have been denied, it is an axiom in politics that denials never carry as much weight as the original accusations.

Furthermore, some of the Democratic leaders realize that it isn't going to be easy to sell Jones to the voters as their choice for governor. A lawyer who never held public office until he became solicitor for Allegheny County two years ago, Jones has no public record worth speaking of. The Guffey-C. I. O. crowd calls him "Lawrence's Man Friday." And finally, the organization has been unable in this campaign to claim the White House's indorsement for its slate. When the quarrel with Lewis was carried to the President last winter, he not only refused to take sides but evidently warned the organization not to assert that it had his blessing. Jittery Democrats now wish that Lawrence had given in to Lewis's demand that the party accept Kennedy as its candidate for governor and had avoided this split.

ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE

The Republicans, too, have a contest in their primary, but from the quietness of their campaign one would never know it. Former Governor Gifford Pinchot and Judge Arthur H. James of the state Superior Court are fighting it out for the gubernatorial nomination, while Senator James J. Davis and State Senator G. Mason Owlett are the chief contenders for the senatorship. No two of them are on the same ticket.

The rival Republicans have concentrated their fire not on each other but on the Democrats, Pinchot's chief plank being a solemn pledge to "clean up the mess in Harrisburg." James talks mostly about what he will do to end the recession; his slogan is "Put a man to work." Occasionally he throws in a dig at Pinchot, calling him a "half-New Dealer" but little more. Curiously enough, this ban on name-calling extends to Lewis and the C. I. O., although both names are anathema to the big manufacturers who are the chief "angels" of the Republican Party. Evidently some Republican leaders hope that if the Democratic organization wins in the primary, Lewis may be so bitter that he will bolt to the Republi-

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cans in November or at least remain neutral. Pinchot, particularly, thinks he has a good chance of getting C. I. O. support because of his one-time progressiveness and his popularity among the coal miners. He was the first governor who refused to use the state police to break up strikes in the western Pennsylvania coal fields.

It was the farm vote that elected Pinchot in 1922 and 1930, despite the opposition of powerful Republican machines in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. And with these machines only a shadow of their former selves, the farmers now hold the balance of power in the Republican primary. They can make or break any candidate, and it looks as if they intended to make Pinchot and break James, although James has the backing of the industrialists and will probably carry Philadelphia. Davis gets even a bigger edge over his opponent in the betters' books. He is undoubtedly getting support from both the Pinchot and James factions and is so confident of nomination that thus far he had done little campaigning.

One thing is certain. Regardless of who comes out on top in this bitter Democratic primary the beneficiaries are going to be the Republican nominees. For they will fall heir to enough campaign ammunition to make them formidable candidates in November. In fact, the primary campaign has provided enough dynamite for a political upheaval in Pennsylvania that could conceivably change the whole trend of national politics and start the Republican Party on the road to victory again.

The Rise of David Dubinsky

BY McALISTER COLEMAN

II

IN 1922 David Dubinsky was holding down the job of president of Local 10 of the I. L. G. W. U. and that of general manager as well, doing work formerly turned over to three branch managers and two secretaries. At the 1922 convention he was elected vice-president of the international. He had been one of the leaders of the strike of that year, a disciplined, unspectacular affair, the favorable outcome of which had been largely determined by a court injunction against the employers obtained by Morris Hillquit and Samuel Untermyer. Dubinsky had gone back to his desk to ponder the effects of the deepening economic depression upon an already jittery industry. Suddenly he found that along with Schlesinger and the other international officials he was now considered an "old-timer," a "reactionary," a "pie-counter artist." These were the first shots of that internal war which, dragging on from 1922 to 1929, brought the once powerful union as close to the vanishing-point as any labor organization in this country has come and still survived —war which brought despair to the hearts of the rank and file, joy to the chiseling employer, and left wounds not yet healed.

The New York garment workers were the storm center of the huge row among radicals that followed the Communist-Socialist split in 1919. At first the fighting was confined to the professional politicians in the Socialist and Communist parties. Then it was extended to the unions, where most of the Communist factions united into the Workers' Party, and William Z. Foster's Trade Union Educational League was annexed by the now legalized Communists. Internecine strife raged on all the streets of the garment centers; it pressed into service pamphleteers and broadside writers whose vocabulary of vituperation touched new lows in labor polemics; it went down into the underworld, where both sides recruited gangsters; it broke out at every annual convention of the international. Dubinsky enlisted as the leader of the shock troops of the right. He left his work with the cutters to stand at the side of the harassed Morris Sigman, who had come from his Iowa farm to take over the presidency of the international in answer to a wire from the sick and discouraged Schlesinger. The lefts promptly trained their heaviest fire on the stocky figure of Dubinsky, recognizing in him their most formidable foe. In his turn Dubinsky was not over-fastidious in his choice of weapons. Communists and those suspected of leftist sympathies were hurled incontinently out of the locals. There were many weird distortions of parliamentary procedure; red-baiting consumed more of the officials' time than routine union business.

Soon Dubinsky developed an in-fighting technique that brought him to the top of many a scrambled heap. When the Communists would fire off a barrage of broadsides picturing him as the leader of "sluggers and gangsters," the head of a "fat-bellied clique of job-holders," and announcing, "on behalf of the rank and file," that "we are through with Dubinsky," the little man would promptly hand in his resignation. As a result vehement protests would pour in from hitherto neutral rank and filers, Dubinsky would withdraw his resignation—and be reelected by a large majority.

Few old-timers can remember a labor convention as tempestuous as the international's 1925 convention at Philadelphia. For eighteen days the compact, tightly disciplined Communist bloc wrangled with Dubinsky—in an exposed position as chairman of the important Resolutions Committee—and his right allies over the issues of

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bureaucracy, dual unionism, proportional representation on the strategic Joint Board of New York, which was the liaison body between the locals and the international, and amnesty for the expelled leftists. When the voting was finally done, Sigman had been reelected over Louis Hyman, his leftist opponent, by 158 to 109, but the leftists had won control of the New York Joint Board. Dubinsky went back to his cutters, read them the Communist circulars urging his defeat, and received a vote of confidence from Local 10 of 1,106 to 242.

The new Joint Board leaders promptly called a general strike of the New York cloakmakers. A commission appointed by Governor Smith had made recommendations for wage increases, the limitation of sub-manufacturers, and the right of manufacturers to "reorganize" their shops once a year, provided they did not discharge more than 10 per cent of the working force. Sigman and Dubinsky were agreed that the report was not wholly satisfactory from the union standpoint, but they had urged its acceptance as a basis for conference with the employers. The Joint Board would have none of it. They brushed aside the international officials and led the cloakmakers into a twenty-six weeks' strike which proved disastrous. In the end, the workers went back with fewer gains than had been offered them by the governor's commission, having expended $3,500,000 from their union treasury and suffered a breakdown of morale that jeopardized the very existence of the union.

The first exciting weeks of this strike had seen the high-water mark of Communist control of New York unions. The rank and file of the garment workers were now through with the T. U. E. L. They called Schlesinger back, and slowly the union got on its feet again. Money loaned to the international by the banking house of which Governor Lehman was a member, bonds floated by the union, and the resumption of dues refilled the depleted treasury. Members drifted back to their locals.

But the lean frame of Schlesinger was racked with illness. He was forced to take long leaves of absence, turning over the duties of his office to Dubinsky, who served as acting president and as secretary-treasurer through much of the period of reconstruction. He was in charge of the strike of 1929, when the international fought desperately and successfully to hold its gains against the onslaught of the depression. When Schlesinger died suddenly in 1932, Dubinsky was the sole choice of the General Executive Board for the presidency.

Dubinsky was now elevated to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to sit with the paunchy leaders of the building trades, the metal workers, and the tight little craft organizations in windy deliberations over the fine points of jurisdictional disputes. Bored stiff, he would come back to industrial unionism in action in the garment centers, marveling at the mountainous labors of the A. F. of L. in bringing forth such mice. However, like the other international executives, he felt a certain pride in his A. F. of L. standing. He knew how the pioneer organizers of the despised immigrant workers had treasured their A. F. of L. charter, first issued in 1900, as a symbol of their acceptance into America's labor family And after all, no small support had come from A. F. of L. sources at critical periods in the international's progress. Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America had played the lone-wolf role for years. Now, in whatever clothing, they were entering the federation fold. It was best for all concerned to stick around with the fat boys of the council.

Then from an unexpected source came a hell-roaring interruption to the monotonous flow of Executive Council oratory. Of all persons, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America, vice-president of the federation, Bergen to William Green's McCarthy, bouncer of all opponents from mild John Brophy to bellicose Alex Howat, was leading a movement to activize the A. F. of L. Not only that, but he aimed at the bloodshot eye of William Hutcheson of the carpenters a blow that was heard around the labor world. When Lewis was defeated by the craft unionists at the Atlantic City convention of 1935 and went rumbling down the boardwalk to call together the progressives at an Atlantic City hotel, Dubinsky went along, though not without misgivings. He had had his fill of factionalism. He had behind him now a disciplined army of 210,000 workers recruited beneath the sheltering wings of the Blue Eagle. He was not willing to align these forces with the leaders of any abortive labor putsch. He wanted to be shown. That A. F. of L. charter with Sam Gompers's signature at the bottom hanging on the wall of the international headquarters was the source of much of his apparent hesitancy at this time.

That two such divergent characters as Lewis and Dubinsky could have worked together as harmoniously as they did in the first days of the C. I. O. is still a matter of wonderment to those who know both men. A sudden convert to labor fundamentals which Dubinsky had learned by heart at the age of sixteen, Lewis had fought his way up to the attention of Gompers out of a mine in Iowa. He had faithfully followed the "pure and simple" program of the federation, indorsed Republican politicians, and denounced all opposition as Moscow-inspired. Now he was appealing to this shrewd skeptical leader from the cosmopolitan garment centers to join him in a hazard of new fortunes which Dubinsky knew would turn the labor world upside down. The two sat in the same hotel room—Lewis, craggy, the delight of labor artists, head of a union whose members were far removed from the big centers of urban civilization; Dubinsky, inconspicuous, cautious, wary of the thunderous implications in the words "industrial unionism." Seemingly they

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were poles apart. And then Lewis went to work and sold Dubinsky a bill of goods that has proved its value. With backgrounds as contrasting as mine tipples and cutters' benches, the two struck hands in alliance against an inert labor movement, an increasingly arrogant employers' offensive, and the distant forces of technological unemployment awaiting orders to advance.

Not that Dubinsky went along as devoutly as Sidney Hillman, who for his reward has the back-breaking, man-sized job of organizing textiles. Dubinsky still hoped that other federation leaders would see the light and that, once personal disputes were composed, satisfactory peace terms might be arranged. He talked peace in and out of sessions of the Executive Council, and his influence was great. He had been reelected vice-president of the federation, he led a union second in size only to the miners, intellectually he was the superior of the A. F. of L. chieftains. But Hutcheson thought of his eye, Frey thought of his chances of survival as "theoretician of the labor movement" if such first-rate mentalities as Brophy's and Hillman's and Dubinsky's were allowed to function unfettered, Matt Woll thought of his contracts with the photo-engravers. And Green thought about all the speeches he had made to Rotarians, Elks, Moose, and Chambers of Commerce promising that the American labor movement would never amount to anything. It is a tribute to Dubinsky's tenacity that he continued to work on such unpromising material. Not until August, 1936, did he throw up the sponge and resign his vice-presidency of the A. F. of L.

In that summer of his resignation the American Labor Party was formed, and Dubinsky faced another break with his past. This time it was the tearing up of his red card of membership in the Socialist Party. Socialism is as much a tradition with cutters, dressmakers, and pressers as Republicanism with the sons of Old Eli. All his active life Dubinsky had grappled with the dilemma that confronts any sincere Socialist—how to remain true to Marxian beliefs and at the same time make working arrangements with a non-socialist environment. Debs solved it by leaving the Democratic Party and the old-line unions to cleave to socialism. Dubinsky solved it by resigning from the Socialist Party and running as an elector from New York on an A. L. P. ticket that indorsed, without reservation, Franklin D. Roosevelt. He even had his picture printed on campaign buttons, the first time in New York political annals that an elector's face was presented to a bemused electorate. And it was only to find himself held up as red bugaboo number one in the columns of the Hearst press and the speeches of Republican boo-shouters.

Dubinsky's friendly rival, Sidney Hillman, with long experience in independent politics dating from the senior La Follette's campaign, lays down most of the strategy of the A. L. P. so far as the garment workers are concerned. Again Dubinsky's job is unspectacular spade work—keeping in line the younger radicals who want a more forthright program than the party has yet written and smoothing out differences between Irish subway conductors, clothing cutters, and silk-stocking liberals.

Dubinsky's first intimation that he places peace in the labor movement above all other considerations came last winter when he criticized the conduct of the negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. His version differed sharply from that of Philip Murray, Lewis's canny lieutenant. According to Dubinsky, the A. F. of L. opened the door to the return of the rebel industrial unions only to have the door slammed in its face. The publication of Dubinsky's statement was hailed by conservatives, looked at askance by radicals. Since then Dubinsky has gone even farther in his peace moves, maintaining that while the organization of workers into industrial unions was a historical necessity, the forming of a permanent organization in opposition to the federation would be a mistake. In this he has the support of the veterans in his union, while the younger members decry such pacifist tactics. Dubinsky's executive committee will make some sort of decision on the whole matter of affiliation at its meeting later this month. At this writing it looks as if the I. L. G. W. U. would decide to go it alone for awhile and take no part in the permanent structure of the C. I. O. if, as now seems likely, a definite breach between the two great labor bodies takes place.

It cannot be said that Dubinsky is a great orator—his style is florid and a bit monotonous—nor is he the handshaking type that gets to the top in other unions. But in negotiations with the bosses, in conferences with the key men and women among his own people, Dubinsky's very great talents are revealed. He sails into a difficult situation equipped with an intimate knowledge not only of the exact boundaries of compromise but of similar situations that have arisen in the history of his union. Here he yields a point amid cries of "opportunist" from the left, but there he gains one, and when it is over, the workers have inched along a little.

Revolutionary days in Europe, work with the "new men" in the building of the new unionism, the storm and stress of factionalism, the march to the right—this is the story of many a leader among the garment workers. But Dubinsky is much more than a shrewd opportunist. His very real concern for the welfare of his rank and file, his ambitions, not for himself but for the movement as a whole, must be set against the hostile charges of overcautiousness, sail-trimming opportunism, and the rest. The future labor historian of these eventful times will be falling down on the job if he fails to give the president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union a place well up on the list of those who are giving American labor a place in the sun.

[*Part I of this article appeared last week.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I AM all for the third party and have been for many years, as the old readers of *The Nation* are aware. Hence I welcome the leadership of Philip La Follette in calling his conference at Madison and starting something. The two sons of the man who polled five million votes for the Presidency on an independent ticket in 1924 were under an obligation, it seems to me, to keep the idea of a new party alive. They have successfully done it in Wisconsin, where their Progressive Party controls the state. Of course they will be abused and misrepresented. I see that one correspondent of the New York *Times* has asserted that the real reason for the Governor's move is a very subtle and clever plot to compel the Republican Party to nominate him for the Presidency. This correspondent insists that the Governor's new platform is so full of generalities that there is nothing in it which the regular Republicans could not swallow, and he suspects that the Governor believes that rather than have a repetition of the campaign of 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt threw the election to Woodrow Wilson by running on the Bull Moose ticket, the Republicans will choose Governor La Follette. From Secretary Ickes come the usual assertions which accompany every effort to start a new party—that this is not the time to do it, and that all good liberals must continue to support Franklin Roosevelt; we must not permit the splitting of the liberal forces and the return to power of the Republican reactionaries.

Now I don't attribute Machiavellian subtlety to Philip La Follette. I believe that he and Robert are absolutely sincere in feeling, as so many of us feel, that the New Deal has been betrayed in the house of its friends, that there are dangerous war tendencies in the present Administration, and that a great deal more must be done than Mr. Roosevelt is doing if we are to work safely out of the unparalleled economic disaster in which we find ourselves. In their places I should not be worried by the charge that they are going to disrupt the liberal forces. The disrupter of the liberal forces in America answers to the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is disrupting them because he is only half-heartedly for the reforms which he thinks he is championing.

If he were whole-heartedly for them he would not have played politics as he has, from the very beginning, nor would he have permitted Jim Farley to play politics. If he were true to his professions and to his inherited standards he would certainly never have permitted Jim Farley to shake down the heads of large business corporations and rich people generally by selling them copies of that autographed party book for huge sums which bear no relation at all to the value of the autograph or the book. If he were true to democracy he would never have administered the government as badly as he has, and he would certainly have announced a definite economic program and lived up to it, and thereby incidentally have avoided the charge that he was unsettling big business and keeping all investors in suspense. He would have insisted at the outset of his Administration upon Congress's extending the merit system to every political office below the rank of executives and their direct assistants—which he finally promised to do in 1936 but has not done.

But what is the use of going on? Every intelligent man knows some of the reasons for the breakdown of the Roosevelt New Deal. I myself never voted for Mr. Roosevelt for President. Had I done so I should certainly bolt him now because of his wantonly unnecessary and most dangerous naval and military expansion and his failure to speak out in regard to our civil liberties—how he can fail to characterize Mayor Hague's performances as Mr. Landon has done is beyond my understanding. So I say again I am for the La Follette's move. The odds are against them; it will be extraordinarily difficult to rally to their banner all the divergent groups that in the several states are demanding independent action, especially with both camps of labor as blind as they are to the present political situation. Naturally because the Governor of Wisconsin has taken the lead, the party will be dubbed the La Follette party; I suppose he went it alone because he was tired of trying to get a group to sponsor the movement. But once more I can only thank heaven that somebody has acted.

As for the Governor himself, he is an engaging and attractive figure on the platform and still has every appearance of youth. Both he and Bob have improved greatly in their public speaking and in their understanding of political problems. Phil is the better campaigner. But if I had to choose between the two I should prefer to see Bob at the President's desk. Both have had a great deal to learn, surprisingly much if one considers their parents and the fact that politics was their daily bread at home. They are both clean-cut, fearless, and completely honest, with Philip more the politician and perhaps more eager to play the political game. They are both real assets to our national life.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Politics of Reconstruction

THE POLITICOS. 1865-1896. By Matthew Josephson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.50.

"THE POLITICOS" is a companion volume to Mr. Josephson's "The Robber Barons," which was published four years ago. Its theme, therefore, is the unsavory political history of the United States during the years 1865-96, just as its predecessor had as its subject the extraordinary industrial history of the same period. "The Robber Barons" was not much more than a work of popularization whose materials the author had obtained from a few well-known sources, the outstanding being Gustavus Myers's "History of the Great American Fortunes." "The Politicos" is a more pretentious work, and for this reason, paradoxical as it may seem, it is not nearly so good. Mr. Josephson, this time, has read very widely in preparation for his task—not only in the familiar political histories and biographies but also in manuscript collections and in general works on political theory. Indeed, his learning is made apparent on every page by the frequent use of quotation marks about words and phrases used in a special way and by long, theoretical asides in the text and special footnotes. In the latter the author quotes and reflects on passages from the writings of Marx, Engels, Weber, Michels, and others. Mr. Josephson's vocabulary, too, is distinctly modern in the radical sense. One notes, for example, such locutions as "party line," "revolutionary party," "Jacobins," "Girondists," "the Mountain," and the like. One can only wonder what the average reader of political history, who as a rule has been brought up on Rhodes, Oberholtzer, and Peck, will make of all this.

Mr. Josephson's learning is indeed impressive, but his scholarship leaves much to be desired. To cite a few of the many inaccuracies that the professional scholar is bound to trip over: The French Convention did not sit during 1789-93 but during 1792-95. Thaddeus Stevens, instead of being virtually alone among the Radical Republicans in his public impeccability, also had designs upon the federal largess. Horace Greeley was not a friend of the workers, as N. J. Ware's "The Industrial Worker" so convincingly proves. One notes that Lincoln's name is frequently coupled with either Stevens's or Sumner's, the implication being that during the Civil War Lincoln stood shoulder to shoulder with the Radical Republicans. This is due either to ignorance or to Mr. Josephson's adherence to the current line of the Communist Party, which has it that the Civil War was won by a People's Front government.

Also I have found whole sections of the book which make little or no sense. The Radical Republicans are presented as social revolutionaries. If this is so and if, therefore, the silencing of Andrew Johnson was imperative to make possible the implementing of the Radical Reconstruction program in the South, what is one to make of a *moral* flight such as the following? Mr. Josephson is speaking of the performances of the Radicals at Johnson's trial:

> It was truly a circus parade in which the fanatical Boutwell, the turbulent Ben Butler, the "drunken" extremist "Zach" Chandler, then "Black Jack" Logan, Roscoe Conkling, Oliver Morton, and Charles Sumner, no less long-winded, airing their preposterous charges, filled the republic with more thunderous claptrap than it had ever known in the fourscore years of its wordy political life.

The book's hero, if it may be said to have one, is James G. Blaine, whose glibness the author mistakes for profundity. Blaine is constantly being referred to as "masterly," "nimble," and "magnetic"; and Mr. Josephson goes out of his way to excuse Blaine's petty chiseling. In one place Blaine is characterized as a "careless rather than a wicked man"; and in another his "preeminent powers as an ideologue" are praised. The point I wish to make is that Mr. Josephson is broad-minded about the irregularities in Blaine's public life because Blaine presumably was the apologist for the most advanced class of the period, that is to say, the industrial capitalists. This is all very well and, I suppose, good current Marxist doctrine; but one's bewilderment is real when one comes across this kind of waspish portrait of Hamilton Fish, a capitalist in his own right and therefore a "progressive" himself instead of once removed, as was Blaine.

> . . . Hamilton Fish, the rather cultivated New York grandee . . . was one of the few political personages in the entourage of the President who did not try to appropriate the columns of the Capitol or the very stones of the Treasury Building. For his unusual scruples with regard to the public property, Fish has ultimately won a certain historical notoriety, and merited perhaps the literary monument recently erected to him by pious hands.

Mr. Josephson, too, has a thesis, although, of course, it is scarcely as original as he would like to have us believe. It is this: party organization—the sphere of activities of the politicos—was consciously designed to further the interests of industrial capitalism. In short, in their way the Republican (and the Democratic) hacks worked as zealously in their sphere in behalf of big business as did the robber barons themselves. This is obviously true; but why the author finds it necessary to magnify the parts played by the Blaines, the Conklings, and the Garfields, as individuals, it is hard to say. For their achievements, theoretically and actually, were negligible, and even their peculations were petty. The fact is, the road for the advance of industrial capitalism had been opened during the years of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period; for it was during 1861-75 that the nation was committed fully to the protective system, a national banking organization, specie payments, the quick disposition of the public domain, and the open pork barrel for river and harbor improvements. It remained merely for the later politicians to act in the capacity of the train-wrecking crew in order to keep the tracks free of obstructions—and these were few and unimportant up to 1896.

It was possible notably for the Republican Party to fulfil this function without let or hindrance—and in this we have the explanation of the excesses of its individual members—

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because the Civil War had done its work only too well: it had destroyed a *political* opposition based upon a class interest. In this connection a study of comparative politics is fruitful: for in England and Germany the Liberal (capitalist) parties had constantly to guard themselves against the criticism of the Conservative (landlord plus *rentier*) parties; and they had to walk in the path of rectitude. In France, where the intrigues following the establishment of the Third Republic had discredited the opposition, the political spokesmen for the industrial capitalist class were equally venal.

Obviously in the United States such faithful friends had to be rewarded, particularly for their devotion to protection and "sound" money; and this was done by turning them loose at the public trough, by contributions to their party chests, and by legislation in the interests of the Civil War heroes. Since the public coffers were swelling with surpluses obtained from the high-tariff duties, nobody was hurt when the Republican Party was allowed to do full justice to the veterans in the form of service pensions. Incidentally, on this simple and straightforward program of relief for business and politics the Northern Democrats and the Republicans by and large saw eye to eye.

Mr. Josephson has told this not very complicated story in a richly documented narrative of seven hundred pages.

LOUIS M. HACKER

Whither Eugenics?

HEREDITY AND POLITICS. By J. B. S. Haldane. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

WHETHER one sympathizes with the aims of the eugenics movement or not, it has gained a sufficiently influential following so that it cannot be ignored. The claims of the eugenists for their positive and negative measures are, however, but rarely submitted to the test of competent critical appraisal, and it is this fact that gives the present book its significance. For here these claims, both as to the feasibility of the methods proposed and the desirability of the ends sought, are subjected to a critique such as only a geneticist of the attainments of Professor Haldane could make.

The "biology of inequality" considered in the opening chapter is for scientists merely a recognition of the fact of variability—that no two creatures, human or otherwise, are ever exactly alike. This fact, however, has been used as a propaganda vehicle to carry assumptions into the political arena which few scientists would hold to be justified. For to recognize that there are differences between individuals in bodily build, intellectual capacities, and emotional resources is a far cry from attributing these individual differences to such large groups as socio-economic classes or races, and proceeding to draw up programs of action based on our present very fragmentary knowledge of the processes of human heredity.

Just how far we are from having the knowledge necessary to justify such programs is clearly and concisely demonstrated in this book. The opening chapters outline what is known of human heredity, with special reference to some of the pathological conditions whose inheritance has been studied in man. The manner in which these are transmitted from one generation to the next and their possible modes of origin are discussed before the author considers some of those intangibles, such as "defectiveness," with which eugenists are especially concerned. The conclusion, which Professor Haldane believes acceptable to most biologists, that "it is never possible from a knowledge of a person's parents to predict with certainty that he or she will be either a more adequate or less adequate member of society than the majority" is recommended to all to whom the arguments of the eugenists have seemed attractive.

The matter of differential fertility—encouraging the "best" stock to reproduce in adequate numbers so as to offset the larger numbers bred by the "poorer" stocks (families in the lower economic brackets)—is also considered at some length. The conclusion, "I am inclined to believe inheritance of wealth eugenically undesirable because it tends to make the well-to-do limit their families," is an indication not only of the social and political realism but also of the humor with which the author approaches his problem. Inevitably, the book ends with a discussion of the nature and reality of racial differences. Again, a quotation can best show the point of view taken with respect to the problem of racial aptitudes for specific kinds of culture:

> Take any of the more blood-stained pages in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (translation in Dent's Everyman Series), in which aldermen's heads fall like so many ninepins. Read it aloud to a friend, substituting Kavirondo for Kent, Mbonga for Eadfrith, and so on. Then ask him whether he thinks it even remotely possible that in five hundred years the descendants of these bloodthirsty savages will be building some of the world's most delicate architecture and laying the foundations of a remarkably just and stable form of government. If he says yes, you will probably find that he is either a firm supporter of Christian missions or a Marxist.

The analysis of the eugenist claims made by Professor Haldane and the conclusions he reaches would be concurred in by most anthropologists concerned with related problems. Yet one cannot but wonder whether he provides the data really needed for a solution of the problems raised in this book. If, for instance, we consider the sections in which the processes of human heredity are discussed, we see that all the traits analyzed are pathological ones, which can be noted merely as to their presence or absence. Yet in the ordinary course of research into human heredity and racial characteristics the traits considered are almost never those in which this presence-or-absence factor is operative; what the human biologist must deal with is degrees of variation in the metric characters he studies. Curiously enough, no geneticist has attacked this primary problem of human genetics, the variation of measurable traits in parental and filial generations of organisms bred and reared under controlled conditions. Here lies the real difficulty in applying to human beings the concepts of Mendelian inheritance developed by modern genetical research; for we have no hint as to what to expect, for example, concerning the variability of such a character as total bodily length among mixed as against pure-line flies, or mice, or rabbits.

It is therefore to be hoped that Professor Haldane and other geneticists who are interested in pointing their research toward the problems of human heredity will extend their

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investigations so as to include an attack on the behavior of traits subject to measurement. Should this be done, I venture to predict that the resulting stimulus will eventuate in data that will permit the evaluation of programs such as are considered in this book in terms that are even clearer and more incisive than those found here; while any conclusions drawn from such data will have a finality that the present state of our knowledge does not permit.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

Presenting Four French Writers

FOUR FRENCH NOVELISTS. By Georges Lemaitre. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

AMERICANS do not pay sufficient attention to the rich literature of contemporary France. Despite the number of translations appearing every year, we often miss the most significant books, which rarely achieve enough immediate popularity in their own country to justify publication here. Even of the great writers we do know, we have only a distorted or truncated image. To make up for this deficiency, and to whet our appetite, we have fairly numerous critical studies by the French-reading minority. But the general public is neither docile nor patient enough to wade through comprehensive surveys and detailed monographs such as have appeared in the past. A present compromise, to be seen in the work of both Milton Stansbury and Georges Lemaitre, consists in grouping together several studies of individual and carefully chosen writers. Though they may contain nothing more than material commonly known and judgments generally accepted in Paris, there is a real need for such books—or at least for one such.

Working within this formula, Mr. Lemaitre has produced what will surely be for several years to come the most recommendable work of this kind. He has handled each of his four representative novelists—Marcel Proust, André Gide, Jean Giraudoux, and Paul Morand—with a uniform and thoroughly French method, relating the author's life, analyzing his themes and his attitude toward life, and finally discussing his art. Here is an attempt, executed with the greatest clarity, to see each of these writers whole and to judge him soberly.

This is not to say that the work is without faults. To the audience to which "Four French Novelists" is presumably addressed the unselective bibliography of French critical works will not be very useful. Furthermore, if that audience needs to have the quotations translated, as most of them are, it must be annoyed to find some left in French; others are in English and still others given in both languages. With this public still in view, a general introduction on the post-war state of mind in France would have given greater coherence to the volume and enhanced its value.

The serious student of contemporary literature, on whom Mr. Lemaitre keeps one eye cocked, will have more reservations to make. The whole study of Proust, for instance, suffers from a too liberal use of suppositions to fill out the little that is known of that writer's method of composition, for Mr. Lemaitre has been unable to see beyond the interesting but debatable theory expressed by Professor Feuillerat of Yale in his "Comment Marcel Proust composa son roman." That the critic has taken Paul Morand too seriously must be apparent to anyone who has read that author; in fact, the wisdom of including him at all in such a gallery is contestable. Despite Morand's polite protestations, quoted on page 303, Mr. Lemaitre should have discerned that his legend was his chief work. If this historian has been wary where the Morand legend was concerned, he has himself contributed somewhat to the Proust and Gide legends through a tendency to confuse the author and his characters, to read into the life elements taken from the work. In the case of Proust especially, Mr. Lemaitre cannot resist indulging in the futile game of identifying the novelist's characters.

As for the details, the same mature student will find the fractioning of Giraudoux's spiritual evolution over-subtle and the few lines on his early trip to America unsatisfactory. In the study of Gide he will probably be disappointed with the treatment accorded to Gide's doctrine of unrest, the problem of evil in his work, and the sources of his communism.

In judging "Four French Novelists," however, it is wiser and fairer to forget that student who, if he is really serious, has already read Proust, Gide, Giraudoux, and Morand in the original, as well as most of the documents Mr. Lemaitre has consulted, and formed his own opinion in the matter. The general public, which alone really counts here, should be grateful for these richly informative and discreet biographico-critical essays on three of the greatest French writers, and one less important novelist, of our time. Mr. Lemaitre's book affords an introduction to much of the best in contemporary French literature and though without brilliance is an example of the French genius for orderly presentation.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Mussolini Against Nobody

ITALY AGAINST THE WORLD. By George Martelli. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

THIS is a well-informed and well-written book. The author professes to be "impartial." In fact, he distributes his love impartially among Lord Baldwin, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Eden, Monsieur Laval, Mussolini, and the other European heroes of his story. In his perfect impartiality he scatters a few flowers and tears even over the fate of the Emperor of Ethiopia and his people. Much time will pass before the leaders of the English Conservative Party find a cleverer advocate.

The book contains no false statements. The author is too intelligent to put himself in contradiction with the truth—a mistake common only among propaganda agents of the cheaper sort. Although his name is Italian, he is English to his fingertips, and is therefore a master of the gentle art of misinforming the reader by telling him the truth, but not the whole truth. Wherever a gap or an ambiguity is necessary in order to garble an unpleasant fact, that gap or that ambiguity is always there, just in the right spot.

For instance, we are told that during the first half of 1935 the English and French diplomats remained deaf to the appeals that the Emperor of Ethiopia made to the League of Nations while Mussolini was assembling arms and men in East Africa. But we are never told that the Emperor of Ethiopia could not have attacked the Italian forces before

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they became too strong for him, since if he had taken the initiative in attack, the peace-loving English and the chivalrous French diplomats would have been overcome by righteous indignation and have rushed to Geneva to ask the League of Nations to brand Ethiopia as the aggressor.

We are told that in the matter of the oil embargo "everything depended on the attitude of the United States," and the author in his "impartiality" leaves it as "an open question" whether Roosevelt's desire to support the League would have been successful if the reluctance of the "League itself" to impose the oil embargo had not reacted unfavorably on American public opinion (p. 200). Thus the responsibility of the governments of London and Paris is skilfully concealed behind the smoke screen of the "League itself," and the reader's attention is focused not on the fact that those governments never thought of putting an embargo on oil but on what might have happened in the United States if things had gone differently—a question which will remain "open" throughout eternity.

We are told that "mustard gas was employed freely during the second half of the campaign in defiance of the Geneva Convention of 1925." But the author, in his "impartiality," "hesitates to add further fuel to the controversy"; anyhow "the only question worth discussing is whether the gas was decisive" (p. 232).

The title of the book itself is misleading. Mussolini never had to fight anybody but the Ethiopians during his African adventure. The French government had given him a free hand and always helped him out in his difficulties. The English government, in order to deceive the English people, had "to go through the motions of taking off one's coat," but they "had no intention of fighting, and knew that one was not going to be attacked by anybody" (p. 134). The other nations "were like the smaller boys in a school. They disliked the bully, but they were not going to attack him unless the seniors gave them encouragement" (p. 123), and the seniors were in accord with the bully. In Abyssinia the Italian military machine was so superior to the resistance put up by a barbarically disorganized country that Mussolini had to fight only against the asperities of the terrain and, during the first months, against the senile imbecility of General De Bono, who had to be supplanted by Badoglio. In Mussolini's war there were more road-builders ill from excessive fatigue than there were fighters killed or wounded. The book, therefore, should have been entitled "Mussolini Against Nobody," or "A Successful Bluffer," or "A Lucky Gambler," or at the most "Mussolini Against the Moral Conscience of the World." But the author was "impartial"; therefore he gave his book the title "Italy Against the World." By Italy, of course, the reader is to understand Mussolini.

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by EVA LIPS

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DRAMA

Better Than Shakespeare?

UNLIKE some of my colleagues, I shall not go so far as to say that the latest production at the Mercury Theater is a good production. Neither, for that matter, shall I go so far as to say that "Heartbreak House" is a good play. But I did enjoy both, and that means something. It means that Shaw is rarely dull even when he is not at his very best and even when the years—as well as his own talents as a propagandist—have made some of his arguments less startling, if not less true, than they were just after the war. It also means that the Mercury production serves at least to set the play forth even when it does little more than that.

Mr. Welles, as though aware that it would require a considerable effort to transform himself into an ancient sea captain, has loaded his head and face with a mountain of hair and putty which must be a burden to carry, but his performance is intelligent and intelligible even when it is not more. So, for that matter, are the performances of Mady Christians as Hesione Hushaby and of Phyllis Joyce as Lady Utterword. In fact, all the performances are at least that good, and one, George Coulouris's interpretation of the strong man of affairs, the blustering Boss Mangan who "talks like a movie, not like a man," is better than that. What one misses is a harmony of styles probably not to be hoped for under repertory conditions. A pervasive air of the impromptu is more clearly perceptible here in a relatively conventional modern play than it was in plays whose staging did not challenge so many comparisons. But I should rather see such a performance of a really interesting play than a much better one of something less worth doing. All things considered, it is good. But to say that is not the same as to say merely that it is good. And the distinction is worth keeping.

As for the play itself, "Heartbreak House" seems even less like a play by Chekov than it did when the comparison was first made. For one thing a pot-pourri of ideas is not the same thing as a synthesis of moods. For another, Shaw's persistent tendency to rely upon farce and caricature to make his discourse actable produces in this case a mad household which, as one critic has shrewly remarked, suggests the mad household of "You Can't Take It with You"—a play which, so far as I know, has never been compared with "The Cherry Orchard" or "The Sea Gull."

Captain Shotover, the ancient who speaks chiefly one sentence at a time and who departs because his wisdom has been exhausted in that single sally, is almost too apt a caricature of Shaw himself even if, as I assume, that is what it was intended to be. England may, as the play suggests, be like this drifting household and hence doomed to perish unless it can learn to be something more than eccentrically charming and largely tolerant. But the only advice which the wise ancient can give is expressed in a single injunction, "Learn to navigate," and that is hardly specific enough to be very helpful—especially when it comes from a man who on the one hand does not indicate any great faith in ordinary

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democracy and on the other replies to a suggestion that the English can be saved only by "strong men" with the laconic remark, "Then we had better be lost."

To me the finest and most interesting scene in the play is that of the dialogue in which the poor daughter of a helpless idealist tries to defend to Captain Shotover her determination to marry "the object," Boss Mangan. She will not be losing her soul because she has none; a soul is a luxury which requires a certain amount of leisure and a certain number of concert tickets as well as a certain freedom from worry. The scene is interesting not only because the argument is put with such force and wit but also because the Captain is not convinced. I remember no other scene in any of the plays which so succinctly reveals that conflict between Shaw the socialist and Shaw the mystic which has never been resolved. Always at the very moment when he has proved conclusively that the world can be understood in terms of rational materialism and in those terms alone he begins to see visions. The disciple of Marx and of Samuel Butler will not stop where he ought to stop. Turning suddenly upon those of little faith, he proclaims anew the absolute, the immutable, the eternal, and the non-rational. Perhaps that is the reason why he remains interesting. It is also, perhaps, the reason why one is never quite sure what the doctrine of the most doctrinaire of English playwrights really is.

"Washington Jitters" (Guild Theater) is a frequently amusing but not too searching satire on government bureaucracy. Nevertheless, after a slow start, it is lively and entertaining as farce even when feeble as satire. The non-partisan plea at the end is a bit on the fatuous side.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

THERE have been notable releases recently, but none that approaches Victor's "Don Giovanni" (twenty-three records in three albums, $46)—a re-pressing of H. M. V.'s subscription recording of the Glyndebourne Festival performance. Not since the Victor-H.M.V.-Glyndebourne "Marriage of Figaro" have we had a combination of a work of this magnitude with a performance of this distinction; and the "Don Giovanni" has points of superiority as a recording job. The first chords of the overture reveal a superiority in the recording itself; and whereas the concerted portions of "Figaro" were recorded in a first volume, the solos in two additional volumes, and the connecting recitatives omitted, "Don Giovanni" is recorded in correct sequence in its entirety, with the recitatives. This makes the set larger and more expensive; but the prices of things being what they are, $46 is little enough for what these records offer. In "Don Giovanni" there are new miracles of the loveliness, the expressiveness, the wit that are in "Figaro"; but where the occasion demands it there is also power; and indeed not the least astounding thing about Mozart, one comes to realize, is his adequacy for any demand of the drama he is setting: there is no need to wait for Wagner or Strauss. One realizes it

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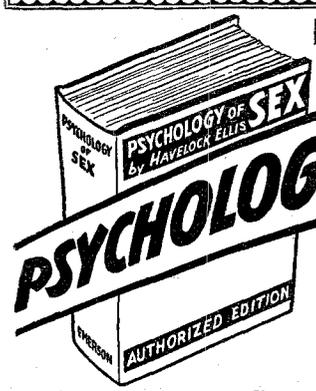

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listening to the gleaming mischief of the detached notes of the violins that accompany Leporello's *Madamina! il catalogo è questo,* to the mockery of the woodwinds a moment later, and throughout to an orchestra that is an unceasing wonder and delight. Or to Elvira's *Ah chi mi dice mai:* what more modern music could have placed her on the stage for us more effectively? Or to *La ci darem la mano:* could Wagner or Strauss have achieved anything more seductive? Or to the overture: who has ever established the atmosphere for a drama to follow, who has ever taken possession of the listener's mind and emotions, as quickly and completely as Mozart does with those solemn opening measures and the light ones that follow?

As in the case of the "Figaro" set, certain of the singers are excellent and others are not all they might be. But transcending individuals, again, is the ensemble, and transcending individual perfections and imperfections is the single superb style of the ensemble directed by Fritz Busch. To the imperfections that are unavoidable Victor adds annoyances that are wholly unnecessary: it issues the set without the H. M. V. booklets, without a list of the singers and the divisions of the opera on the records, with nothing but a libretto that omits Elvira's great recitative *In quali eccessi* and aria *Mi tradi,* confusing the listener when these occur on sides thirty-five and thirty-six.

Only Szigeti has played Bach in a way that impressed me as much as Simon Goldberg's performance of the Violin Concerto in A minor did at his first appearance here; and where Szigeti's Bach—for example, the movement he played for an encore at his recital this season—is excitingly impassioned, Goldberg's had a sustained serenity that in the end was even more exciting. Decca has re-pressed a foreign set of Beethoven's Violin Sonatas Opus 24 and Opus 47 ("Kreutzer") (seven records, $7) made by Goldberg with the pianist Lilli Krauss. On these records his playing is less impressive than in the Bach, the performances being sensitive rather than forceful; but I would call this a good set—with the further reservation that the Decca surfaces are trying (I did not wait to find out how long it took for the inner portions of the records to sound clear). Other Decca items that I have found worth their price ($.75 a record) are the Haydn-Brahms Variations conducted by Sir Henry Wood (two records), and Händel's Concerto Grosso No. 1 played by the Boyd Neel String Orchestra (two records). Such individual recommendations are my answers to questions about Decca records; there is no single answer.

Jess Stacey begins with a piano solo, Benny Goodman follows with his clarinet, and as a result "One O'Clock Jump" (Victor) is the first Goodman Orchestra record I have enjoyed in a long time. Stacey's playing is also enjoyable in "Beat to the Socks" (Commodore Music Shop), an earlier, shorter, and different version of "Carnegie Drag," which I mentioned some time ago. Buck Clayton's muted trumpet is heard in a distinctive solo at the beginning of Teddy Wilson's "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man" (Brunswick). And I enjoyed the singing and playing of "Stack O'Lee Blues" by Johnny Dodds and His Chicago Boys (Decca). Carl Sandburg could learn from it how a simple song should be sung.

I would have reviewed Columbia records if they had arrived.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

[Last week we published a final tabulation of more than 9,000 answers to our questionnaire on American foreign policy, showing a six-to-one majority against a policy of isolation. The poll brought in its wake about 250 letters. Most of these came from persons who wished to supplement or explain their ballots; a few from those who felt that the questionnaire offered no opportunity for an expression of their views. About half of the letters showed sufficient thought and care to be worth analyzing, and from them we selected the varied group printed below. At least 50 or 60 letters were as interesting as those appearing here. But since we lack space for a more generous sampling, a few approximate figures may help to give some idea of the points of view included.

The 140 best letters came from 34 states and the District of Columbia. About 40 supported some sort of collective action while almost the same number took a clear-cut isolationist position, but in each group the differences of opinion were more striking than the basic similarity. Those who favored collective measures made such diverse proposals as an immediate resort to war, an effort to revive and work through the League of Nations, an extension of trade treaties, application of economic sanctions, or "all steps short of military action." Most of these writers wanted to combine several peaceful methods.

Of the isolationists a few took the attitude that isolation was necessary as a present policy but that ultimately some sort of collective system would have to be worked out. Most of them, however, seemed to feel that the rest of the world had doomed itself to conflict and chaos and that the United States should withdraw from the struggle as completely as possible. A very few favored including Latin America in the area of isolation.

About 25 writers repudiated the "isolationist" label as meaningless. These also fell into fairly distinct and equal groups. The first emphasized the danger that any collective agreement with European capitalist states would be likely to involve the United States in an essentially imperialist war; the second advocated certain measures of cooperation, such as reciprocal trade agreements and stabilization of currencies, but insisted that collective agreements to penalize aggression and support its victims should be strictly avoided. Writers in both groups cited the danger to democracy inherent in war and stressed the need of domestic economic reforms as the only really effective means of combating fascism. About five letters took an uncompromising pacifist position. The ten writers who favored a larger army and, even more, a larger navy were evenly divided between isolationists and their opponents. Some 23 letters were devoted to criticism of the poll itself; the main objections raised are covered adequately in the letters printed below.

In addition to these major attitudes a number of unusual specifics against war were prescribed by individual writers. One correspondent urged the need for birth control as a preventive; another the spread of consumers' cooperatives; another the suppression of columnists and commentators and a return to government by elected representatives; while still another writer advocated banking reform and the single tax as the only antidotes to war.—EDITORS THE NATION]

Objections to the Poll

Dear Sirs: The Nation's peace questionnaire is, I believe, impossible to answer satisfactorily for several reasons. The primary difficulty is that its authors have used abstractions which convey varied meanings to essentially like-minded persons, and have proceeded on assumptions seriously open to challenge.

To begin with, the alternatives are so framed as to produce an overwhelming vote in favor of "collective security." Another set of alternatives could as easily be framed to produce an equally overwhelming vote against, say, "entangling alliances with sated imperialist powers." Again, the key phrases—"isolation," "collaboration with the great democracies," etc.—are verbalisms having no significance apart from their specific applications. "Isolation" could mean complete non-intercourse with the outside world. It might also express a primary concern with internal problems and a refusal to be drawn into conflicts between rival imperialisms. Equally vague are the words "collaboration" and "democracies." The most ardent cooperator would find it impossible to collaborate with Chamberlain and Daladier to restrain aggressors. Spain is the acid test. There the Roosevelt Administration "cooperates" by aligning the American "neutrality" policy with the British "non-intervention" policy. Net result: Roosevelt talks of "quarantining" aggressors and acts to quarantine the victims of aggression. Hull talks of maintaining the sanctity of treaties and acts in derogation of principles of international law hitherto accepted.

You ask as to an increase of the army and navy, "assuming isolation." How about assuming "cooperation for collective security"? Either way, one inquires: For overseas operations? For continental protection? As presented the question is unanswerable.

I feel that we should seek to develop on this continent a social organization that will permit the adequate use of available natural resources, equipment, and personnel. Foreign adventuring, however appealingly labeled, will merely divert energy from this formidable task, with probably no better results than attended the last crusade. Correspondingly, the armed forces should be strengthened for continental defense, not for overseas operations—the reverse of which is now being done.

I do not see how America can avert whatever fate may be in store for Europe. America does, however, hold the promise of a new and better civilization if it can escape the maelstrom of Old World hates and rivalries — and if enough of us learn to face facts and avoid illusions. WALTER M. HINKLE
New York City

Dear Sirs: It was our considered judgment that *The Nation's* questionnaire ignored certain important issues and clouded others; that it limited our choice in certain cases to two alternatives when many of us would select a third; that some of the questions could not be answered until key words were defined; and, finally, that some of the questions as asked would be likely to produce answers desired by the editors of *The Nation,* though many who returned these answers would really disagree with the editors' views on foreign policy.

With these ideas in mind we prepared a careful criticism of *The Nation's* questionnaire, together with a questionnaire of our own that, in our judgment, more fairly raised the important issues involved. We requested *The Nation* to print our material and invited the editors, individually and collectively, to publish their answers to our set of questions. We regret that *The Nation* found itself unable to spare the space that our

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document would have occupied.* in the few hundred words offered us we can only indicate a few of our criticisms.

The Nation's first question begins with the phrase, "in the long run," and asks whether isolation or cooperation with other nations offers the better insurance against war. What is meant by "in the long run"? Do you mean after we have fought a few wars? We happen to be most concerned with keeping the United States out of the next war.

Again *The Nation* stacks the questions when, in Number four, it asks supporters of "isolation" whether their policy should be backed by a large increase in the army and navy. It fails, however, to ask the same question of the supporters of "collective security." We suspect that the latter are now more likely to favor increased armament than we are—and we believe that their policies more logically call for such an increase.

Worst of all, *The Nation* nowhere permits actual warfare to enter the questionnaire. "Collective security" advocates, in answering the sixth question, are permitted to say whether they favor the "threat" of armed resistance to aggression. But *The Nation* fails to ask whether, when the threat is ignored and the bluff is called, warfare will be supported. That seems to many of us to be the most important point at issue. Such warfare will not be "collective security" but collective suicide.

Many of us believe that the present British government, if it goes to war, will fight for the British Empire and not to prevent aggression in the abstract. We remember the little affairs with Spain and Mexico in our own spotless and illustrious history. We do not think that joining the League of Nations provides any security of any sort. Indeed, we suspect that "collective security" will either prove ineffective or result in war as surely as old-fashioned military alliances led to war. And some of us are far from being isolationists, for we favor all possible aid to the Spanish Loyalists, the underground movements in fascist countries, and aid to the Chinese people, by trade unions, individuals, etc. Indeed, an overwhelming percentage of those who answered *The Nation's* questions favored voluntary rather than governmental collective action.

* The letter referred to was three times as long as the present one. The questionnaire would have occupied a page by itself. The two together would have filled three solid pages of *The Nation* quite apart from the space required to answer and comment upon the document and the questions. *The Nation* offers no apology for declining to give four or more pages of the magazine to the objections of one group.—EDITORS THE NATION

There is another interesting question that advocates of collective suicide should answer. Surely they have heard of the industrial-mobilization plan, of the Sheppard-Hill-May bill, and of proposals for universal conscription. Do they favor these measures or oppose them, so far as their type of war is concerned? Many of us, in view of President Roosevelt's support of the May bill, his big-navy plans, and his actions in China and Spain, are opposed to any foreign adventures under his leadership.

Readers who wish a full copy of our original statement and our unanswered questionnaire to *The Nation* editors may write for it to Dr. Joel Seidman, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

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New York City

Johnny, Get Your Gun

Dear Sirs: I consider the inclosed group of questions so wishy-washy as to be worthless. I believe in *action.* I hate war, but what can you do with such crazy gangsters as Hitler and Mussolini? They believe in action, so let's give them some.

I believe with all my soul and mind that we should join England, France, and Russia—and *go to it, hammer and tongs.* If, as might happen, England stays out of it, I would join France and Russia. I can't imagine England joining Germany and Italy, even if it didn't join the others.

War is bad, but cowardice is worse. I believe we are cowardly if we continue to sit back and let three gangster nations continue to attack and destroy peaceful people. It is stupid, too, to believe that we can keep out of war. If we stay out, the gangsters will destroy the free nations, one by one, and then attack us.

GRENVILLE T. CHAPMAN

El Paso, Texas

Would Meet Force with Force

Dear Sirs: Since I regard the results of your peace poll important, in terms of the influence it may have on Congressmen, publicists, and readers, I wish to add a few words.

Section C allows me no opportunity to register the view that, in my opinion, the only way to stop the aggressor nations is to answer their use of force with the explicit threat of our use of force. Naturally, in my view, this holds even more true for England, France, and the other democracies. There should be a large increase in the United States army and navy, and while we should not enter any alliances, it should be made clear through diplomatic channels that our armed forces are our answer to German, Japanese, and Italian aggression, and that our own interests run parallel to those of England and France (and Soviet Russia—in so far as Russia is territorially a status quo nation).

In these days we must think not only of a peace policy but also of a war policy. If there is going to be a war, it is going to be another world war, and to protect our own interests and civilization we shall have to enter it. Assuming that, we must prepare to *win* that war.

JULIAN S. BACH, JR.

New York City

Who Said "Fight Japan"?

Dear Sirs: There has been a disappointing lack of vigor—save in the pages contributed by the indomitable Mr. Villard—in *The Nation's* opposition to Mr. Roosevelt's fantastic "big navy" program. Nor is *The Nation's* stubborn allegiance to the discredited collective-security drivel very reassuring at a time like this; for collective security, in so far as United States participation is concerned, can mean only reemergence of our unfortunate weakness for fighting other people's battles, and specifically those of British Tory cabinets. It would be ironic indeed if *Nation* subscribers were to find their favorite magazine, in its loyalty to Mr. Roosevelt, whipping them into the ranks of a second crusade "to save democracy" from a new "beast of Berlin."

Those who are still interested in arguments against the navy bill might be surprised by this: The total value of all real estate in the United States which should be retired from cultivation to save it from destruction by erosion—crop land, pasturage, woodlands, and small farmsteads—is $682,090,000, about half of the latest estimates of Mr. Roosevelt's

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gift to the United States navy. Purchase of this land not only would save the soil, but would be a long step toward saving the luckless human beings who struggle fruitlessly to eke out a living on submarginal properties. Some of us, including, I hope, *The Nation*, would rather fight wind and flood and dust and destitution than the Japanese!

KINSEY HOWARD

Great Falls, Mont.

Anything Short of War

Dear Sirs: I am neither an isolationist nor a collective-security advocate in all that these terms imply. What I am opposed to, first, last, and all the time, is the use of war as a means of settling international disputes. Fascism, according to my notion, cannot be stopped by attacking it with arms. The moment that we adopt war in this country as an instrument to stop fascism, we consent to the setting up of fascism at home by establishing the war machine considered necessary to prosecute successfully a modern conflict.

My belief is that we should oppose aggressors like Germany, Italy, and Japan by every possible peaceful means —by the economic boycott, by refusal to lend them money, by holding them up to ridicule—and that we should join non-aggressive nations in doing this. Long ago we should have used such measures on these aggressors, even if they had not formally declared war.

As now applied, the Neutrality Act works an injustice on Spain and China, and substantially aids and abets the aggressors. The act must be applied with greater discrimination or repealed and some other act that is more equitable substituted for it.

Even at this late hour, if the United States and England would together serve notice on Germany, Italy, and Japan that they must cease their aggressions or face the possibility of being treated as outlaw nations, unworthy of the confidence and help of the rest of the world, I believe that these aggressors could be stopped.

CLINTON J. TAFT

Los Angeles, Cal.

What Oregon Thinks

Dear Sirs: My own opinion counts for little. However, the opinions of the farmers and ranchers who inhabit the vast Oregon hinterland count for a great deal. I have just talked with a great many of them on the subject of war and peace and international affairs. Their outlooks are not divided along the lines that prevail in the East. I found that the majority of these dwellers on our frontier favor (1) a national referendum before any war except one of actual defense, (2) "some sort" of action by the United States to stop the aggressor countries, and (3) a navy strong enough "to protect us from Japan and Hitler."

The farmers of the Northwest are steeped in the philosophy of the initiative and referendum; perhaps that is why they like the Ludlow amendment. Most of them told me they thought America itself would eventually be in danger if the aggressor countries are not checked. All of them, with scarcely any exceptions, seemed sympathetic to the Spanish Loyalists, not because of any knowledge of the ideologies at issue but because of Franco's bombings of women and children. Opinion appeared split on the navy bill, although many of the people interrogated believe the naval forces should be somewhat increased. The people in the hinterland do not seem alarmed about impending war, but they are talking about the general topic of foreign affairs more than at any time in recent years.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore.

The Ideal and the Expedient

Dear Sirs: I am a young man who would have to risk his life on foreign battlefields if we adhered to a vigorous policy of collective security. With full knowledge of this I would yet favor collective security if it were possible to find a group of nations in which we could trust, or if a potent League might become a reality. I am in the position of favoring collective security idealistically, but being for the present forced to embrace isolation. What liberal could place faith in either England or France after their actions and inactions in the Spanish Revolution?

For the present I favor isolation as the expedient move. I will favor collective security when nations of the world demonstrate that they actually believe in democracy. For the present, I would flee to the mountains or languish in a cell before I would fight in foreign lands in a struggle that would be without meaning, in a struggle that would be characterized by nothing but sound and fury and infinite human suffering.

DON ROGAN

Los Angeles, Cal.

Salvation Through Marx

Dear Sirs: Intelligent members of the working class can have no interest in the liberalist debate about isolation and collective security. The first is obviously futile and the second seemingly impossible. Isolation cannot keep us out of war, because war cannot keep us isolated. In other words, there is no force to enforce isolation. Pious wishes of isolated isolationists could not operate as a social force. If the pacifism of the isolationists could be adopted as a world-working-class policy and all workers would refuse to bear arms at the behest of a capitalist dictator or a ruling capitalist class, then war would be impossible and peace assured.

As to so-called collective security, it is not imaginable that non-fascist countries on a capitalistic basis could unite for their own protection. Their interests are mutually too antagonistic. Were agreements actually consummated, economic contradictions would reduce them to scraps of paper. Capitalism is internationally competitive, and the rivalry for raw-material sources and markets for manufactured goods inevitably leads to military aggression and human slaughter. Industrial expansion must be supported by military equipment, and such equipment is of no use unless it is used.

Any constructive plan for peace must envisage a new social order. Peace is impossible as long as there is economic competition and consequent political and military rivalry. A potentially effective peace plan must first bring about world-wide economic cooperation. Such cooperation will abolish national boundaries and ruling dynasties. It will establish the organic requirements of industry as the basis of sovereignty and suffrage.

This cannot be carried out by capitalists. It must be worked out by the working class. The working class is not yet organized for the task. The working class is the social mass, and trends and tendencies indicate that it is gaining in influence and rising in prestige, finally to become the ruling class and abolish itself as a class as well as all other classes. In the meantime fascism will rule the world.

JOSEPH MANLET

Cleveland Heights, Ohio

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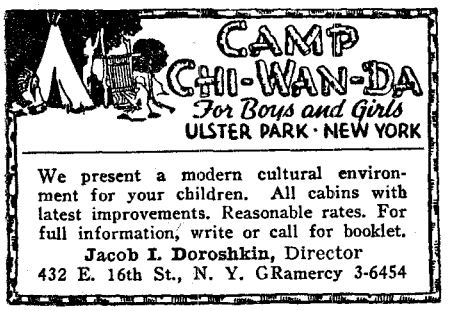

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